

**Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades am
Fachbereich Philosophie und Sozialwissenschaften I der
Freien Universität Berlin**

**Symbolic Representation and Living Conditions: An analysis
of drawings of African children in South Africa**

vorgelegt von
Tokozile Valerie Mayekiso
aus Lusikisiki (Südafrika)



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41554819_0025

Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades am
Fachbereich Philosophie und Sozialwissenschaften I der
Freien Universität Berlin

Symbolic Representation and Living Conditions: An analysis
of drawings of African children in South Africa

vorgelegt von
Tokozile Valerie Mayekiso
aus Lusikisiki (Südafrika)

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 08.12.1986

Tag der Promotion: 08.12.1986

Wissenschaftliche Gutachter: Prof. Dr. M. Hildebrand-Nilshon
Prof. Dr. S. Schubenz

To my parents

Vervielfältigt mit Unterstützung des DAAD

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of tables	v
List of figures	vi
List of maps	vii
Preface	viii
1. Exposition of the problem and aim of the investigation	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. The aims of the investigation	3
1.3. Historical development of the system of production in South Africa	3
1.4. Living conditions in South African rural areas	8
1.5. Typical African family structures	12
1.6. The concept of symbolic represen- tation	13
1.7. Children's family drawings as a means of investigating the relation- ship between symbolic representation and living conditions	14
1.8. Outline of the report of the in- vestigation	18
2. Review of studies and theoretical approaches to children's drawings	20
2.1. Aspects of studying children's drawings	20
2.1.1. Subjects drawn spontaneously by children	21
2.1.2. Drawing as a developmental se- quence	22

	page
2.1.3. Differences between performances of boys and girls	26
2.1.4. Studies of drawings by disturbed children	27
2.1.5. Measurement of intellectual ability in children	29
2.1.6. Projective use of children's draw- ings	30
2.1.7. Cross-sectional studies of child- ren's drawings	31
2.1.8. Longitudinal studies of children's drawings	32
2.2. The symbolic process in children's drawings	33
2.3. A review of some theoretical ap- proaches to children's drawings	35
2.3.1. Theories making use of mentalistic concepts to explain children's drawings	36
2.3.2. Holistic interpretations of child- ren's drawings	40
2.3.3. Clinical and projective theories on children's drawings	42
2.4. Content symbolism	45
2.5. Formal elements in a drawing and symbolism	48
2.6. Symbolic representation and living conditions	50
2.7. Hypotheses	52
3. Methods and procedures used in the investigation	53
3.1. Overview of method	53
3.2. Setting and sample	54

	page
3.3.	Methods and procedures used in the collection of data 60
3.3.1.	Method of collecting family drawings 60
3.3.2.	Interviews with the children 62
3.3.3.	Methods of collecting data about the home environment of the children 64
3.3.3.1.	Direct observations 65
3.3.3.1.1.	Observation procedures 68
3.3.3.2.	Parents' interviews 71
3.4.	Method of analysing data 76
3.4.1.	Method of analysing family drawings 77
3.4.1.1.	Analysis of a family drawing as a whole 78
3.4.1.2.	Analysis of each figure depicted on a drawing 83
3.4.1.3.	Assessment of the cognitive abilities of the children from their human figure drawings 89
3.4.2.	Method of analysing data about the home environment of the children 92
4.	Analysis of results 100
4.1.	Group analysis of data obtained from the family drawings 101
4.2.	Results from the individual analysis of the data 112
4.2.1.	Approach to interpretation of the family drawings 112
4.2.2.	Case examples 114
4.3.	Summary of findings 191
4.4.	Discussion of findings 192
4.4.1.	Family background 192

	page
4.4.2. Child-rearing practices	194
4.4.3. Family power structure	196
4.4.4. Symbolic representation and living conditions	197
5. Summary, conclusions, and recommendations	213
5.1. Summary of the investigation	213
5.2. Conclusions	214
5.3. Recommendations	216
5.3.1. Recommendations regarding the application of the Family Drawing Technique	216
5.3.2. Recommendations regarding future research	217

Appendices

A	Interview schedule with the sample children	219
B	Behaviour categories used for the observations	
	Activities of the family members	220
C	Home-environment observations	222
D	The parents' interview schedule	223
E	Scoring sheet for symbolic representation depicted on a family drawing test	227
F	Expected and exceptional items on human figure drawings of boys and girls aged 5 to 7 years	231
G	Interpretation of individual HFD scores (Koppitz, 1968)	233
	Bibliography	235

LIST OF TABLES

		page
Table 1	Distribution of the sample by age and sex	58
Table 2	Educational levels of the parents	59
Table 3	Depiction of family members on family drawings	102
Table 4	Sequence in the depiction of family members on a family drawing	103
Table 5	Qualities of pencil pressure appearing on drawings	104
Table 6	Depiction of selected items on the human figure drawings	106
Table 7	Spatial arrangement of the drawings	107

LIST OF FIGURES

	page
Figure 1 Family drawing by a girl aged 6	119
Figure 2 Family drawing by a boy aged 6	123
Figure 3 Family drawing by a boy aged 5	127
Figure 4 Family drawing by a boy aged 6	132
Figure 5 Family drawing by a girl aged 5	136
Figure 6 Family drawing by a girl aged 6	139
Figure 7 Family drawing by a boy aged 6	143
Figure 8 Family drawing by a boy aged 6	147
Figure 9 Family drawing by a girl aged 5	151
Figure 10 Family drawing by a girl aged 7	154
Figure 11 Family drawing by a girl aged 6	158
Figure 12 Family drawing by a boy aged 6	162
Figure 13 Family drawing by a girl aged 7	166
Figure 14 Family drawing by a boy aged 5	170
Figure 15 Family drawing by a boy aged 5	174
Figure 16 Family drawing by a girl aged 6	177

Figure 17	Family drawing by a girl aged 6	181
Figure 18	Family drawing by a boy aged 7	184
Figure 19	Family drawing by a boy aged 6	187
Figure 20	Family drawing by a boy aged 6	190

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1	The Transkei in relation to Southern Africa	55
Map 2	The map of the Transkei	56

PREFACE

The past years have witnessed such a strong interest in children's drawings that at present they have become one of the most widely used techniques by psychologists working with children. Research has centred particularly on the cognitive and projective aspects of graphic representations.

My initial interest in children's drawings arose from the drawings of my younger brother, Mahlubi, which had always fascinated and puzzled me. His early artistic endeavours sparked the curiosity that led to a research project on children's drawings. In 1982, in a master's dissertation, I addressed myself to the cognitive aspect of children's drawings. The overall results supported the notion that children's human figure drawings give an indication of children's cognitive abilities. This study enriched my view on children's graphic representations and inspired me to conduct further research on children's drawings, taking the emotive and expressive aspects of the drawings into consideration. The literature on children's drawings points out that drawing seen only as a cognitive activity is likely to lead to a biased and one-sided understanding of it.

The departure of the present research has been symbolic representation as manifested on children's drawings. The concern with symbolic representation has had many sources. These have been as diverse as, for example, the accumulating evidence that representation begins with the child's playful exploration of the medium and its symbolic trans-

formation and then comes increasingly under the domination of the visual attributes of the object, recreating its structural and dynamic characteristics. The link with symbolic representation, however, is never completely lost; the drawings of children seldom resemble what they are supposed to depict; and the realisation that realistic representation is only one of the aims of children's graphic representations and that children may sometimes find a symbolic representation more meaningful than a realistic representation.

Symbolic representation is dealt with in this study in relation to living conditions. The dramatic deterioration of the living conditions among Africans in South Africa and their implications on the development of the children has motivated me to adopt this approach followed in this study to symbolic representation. Central to the analysis and interpretation of the drawings is the assumption that the content, spatial arrangement, and graphic characteristics of the drawings symbolise aspects of the living conditions of the children.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all those people who assisted me in undertaking and concluding this research study. In particular I am indebted to the following:

Professor Dr. M. Hildebrand-Nilshon, Professor at the Department of Psychology, Free University Berlin, for supervising this study. His assistance and interest are much appreciated.

The German Academic Exchange (Deutscher Akademi-

scher Austauschdienst), for financial assistance.

The Principal at the Sacred Heart Junior Secondary School at Flagstaff for granting me permission to collect drawings from the school children.

My deepest thanks are offered to the children whose drawings have enriched my view on symbolic representation, and their parents for their co-operation.

It is with a deep feeling of gratitude that I want to thank my parents for their unfailing kindness and inspiration.

1. EXPOSITON OF THE PROBLEM AND AIMS OF THE INVESTIGATION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Cultural anthropologists have long suggested that the basis of socialised behaviour in any society is the maintenance system (Harrington and Whiting, 1972, Whiting, 1963, Whiting and Child, 1953). The maintenance system of a society is comprised of all the economic, social, and political structures. The maintenance system is important, according to Harrington and Whiting (1972), because it is the basis for the establishment of a society's child-rearing practices. It affects child-rearing practices, inter alia, by determining the unit within which children are raised. The apartheid system in South Africa with its Influx Control, Pass Laws and Group Areas Acts requires that men in the rural areas should leave their families behind while employed in the industrial areas of South Africa. The results of this present-day maintenance system have included not only harsh child-rearing methods but also a change in the structure and function of family and household life. Economic factors have disturbed the old division of labour making both man and woman breadwinners. Migration to urban centres has weakened the social cohesion of the traditional family. As a result, the past years have witnessed a dramatic deterioration of the living conditions of the African people in South Africa. There is definitely need for concern over the potential effects of such trends on the children. African children are participant observers of the change in the family. As a result

it was decided to investigate the children's representation of the existing living conditions. The question needing an answer is: How do the children represent symbolically their living conditions?

The present investigation, therefore, proposes to study the symbolic representation of African children in South Africa. Specifically, this study seeks to determine whether a relationship exists between the living conditions of children and their symbolic representation. It is felt that an attempt to study the impact of the living conditions of the children on symbolic representation will not only provide an additional step in trying to arrive at an accurate assessment of the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions but also test the view that children of the ages included in the sample of the present investigation make symbolic rather than realistic representations. It is also hoped that the present investigation will give a clearer perspective of the living conditions of the African children in South Africa. At the same time, since most communication is downward from older to the younger, the present study will provide us information not only about children but also about the older children and adults with whom they are affiliated.

No known study has been done on the symbolic representation of African children in South Africa. It is the main aim of this study to help fulfil this important need. Nowhere is there a more compelling need for a study of this kind than among children caught in between the opposing pulls of traditionalism and modernism and, worst of all, being sub-

jected to apartheid. At the same time, it is hoped that the present study will make a contribution in the field of cross-cultural psychology by providing a cross-cultural comparison of findings in this area.

1.2. THE AIMS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The main objective of this investigation is to ascertain whether a relationship exists between symbolic representation and the living conditions of the African children in South Africa.

Should a relationship be found to exist, the following will be undertaken:

1. Find out the types of symbols the children use for their representations.
2. Ascertain whether individual differences in symbolic representation varied as a function of the children's different living conditions.

In order to get a clear perspective of the living conditions of the African children in South Africa, it is necessary to look briefly at the historical development of the system of production in South Africa.

1.3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many factors have been responsible for the present

condition of the African people in South Africa; but this discussion will only focus on those factors which are considered to have played the important roles in this regard. According to Wilson (1972), in the past, two systems of production were practiced in South African rural areas: the redistributive system of production whereby all members of the household or production unit performed key roles in the means of production and the peasant production system which required the people to produce surplus for colonial taxation. This situation was transformed by the unearthing of diamonds near Hopetown in the Transvaal in 1867, the effects of which were intensified and multiplied by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. This resulted in an exodus of people from the rural areas to the urban and industrial centres of South Africa.

This transformation was also engendered by the introduction and implementation of the 1913 Native Land Act which froze African land ownership to a mere 13 per cent of the entire land area of South Africa, leaving the bulk of the land to the European population. Of necessity having to sell their stock at basement prices, many were left destitute. The decline of the indigenous peasantry is of significance because it defines the character of the transformation of the majority of the African population from pastoralists to their present condition as a rightless, exploited, and to a large extent migratory labour force (Southall, 1983). The most important aspect of this decline in peasant prosperity was that it resulted in steadily growing numbers of Africans being forced out on to the labour market. Unable to meet their subsistence requirements on

the land, they were forced to seek cash earnings by going into white employment. Having lost their property, more and more Africans arrived in Johannesburg to work; and more and more were needed by growing industries and services.

The number and permanency of Africans in the urban areas thus became the central issue to white politicians. When the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 with its policy of apartheid, it was denied that a permanently urbanised African population existed. Influx control was introduced. Their policy was that all Africans have their permanent homes in the reserves and their entry into the urban centres and other areas is merely a temporary nature and for economic reasons. The apartheid regime is determined to reverse the flow of Africans from the urban to the rural areas, while at the same time being deeply committed to industrial expansion and economic growth.

A number of Acts were passed which were intended to make the life of the African people difficult. It is possible here only to indicate the most important of the innumerable apartheid acts. The 1950 Group Areas Act, amended on numerous occasions, provided for the creation of separate areas throughout the country, in which ownership and occupation of land would be restricted to a specific population group. This was a terrible blow to the Africans since the vast bulk of the country (87 per cent) was reserved for the whites. The 1953 Bantu Education Act and the Extension of Universities Education Act 1959 enforced separation of races in all educational institutions. The educational system of the Africans was planned by the

Nationalist regime to retard the progress of the African people in general. The 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act abolished African representation in parliament and outlined procedures for setting up so-called "self government" in the areas reserved for the African population. The 1964 Bantu Laws Amendment Act deprived Africans living and working in "white" areas of any right to remain there. Under this Act government-controlled labour bureaus were given absolute power to direct African workers to specific jobs, or to cancel their permits to live and work in a "white" area, even if they had been born there. The 1970 Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act made every African a citizen of an ethnic homeland, where he might exercise his civil and political rights. Even if a person has never been to any homeland and has nothing to do with the homelands, he is still a citizen of a homeland. His citizenship is decided by the language he speaks. For example, all Xhosa people are citizens of Transkei or Ciskei, and all Tswana people are citizens of Bophuthatswana. The Act reinforced the government policy that an African has no rights in white South Africa, except to sell his labour. The end result of these Acts has been a deterioration of the living conditions of the African population in general.

Though the Africans are over 70 per cent of the population of South Africa, their "homelands" consist of only 13 per cent of the land. All the principal known mineral resources, all major industries, all the cities, and nearly all the most productive and well-watered farming land lie in the "white" areas of South Africa. The "homelands", on the other hand, are desperately overcrowded, soil eroded and lacking

in job opportunities (Southall, 1983).

The Government's policy is to give jobs and housing only to African people who have legal rights to stay in town; so homeland people are not allowed to come to the industrial areas to look for work. This sounds ridiculous since 54 per cent of the total African population lives in the "homelands". The only way in which a "homeland" person can get work is to wait at the Labour Bureau in his own area until jobs are offered by the labour officer. Now fewer and fewer jobs are offered because the Administration Boards do not want to allow employers to recruit workers from the "homelands" (Black Sash, 1982).

Because of this, more and more people in the "homelands" have no jobs. People in the "homelands" are very poor. Many have no fields to plough and no land to grow mealies and vegetables. They cannot feed their children if they do not find jobs and earn some money; but jobs in the "homelands" are scarce. According to Southall (1983), the "homelands" exhibit the starkest forms of social decay - mass impoverishment, malnutrition, and are among those countries with the highest rates of infant mortality in Africa. Even for those "homeland" people who have been fortunate enough to get jobs in the "white" areas of South Africa, the law forbides them to move together with their families to the place of employment.

They get employed on temporal contracts. This situation has resulted into the system of labour migration which has come to be accepted as a way of life in the "homelands". Wakelin (1983) reports that in the Transkei, one of the "homelands" in South Africa, in 1982

men comprised only 26 per cent of the total rural population between ages 20 and 44. This high rate of labour migration defines the character of the living conditions in the rural areas. Labour migration has unfavourable effects not only on the individual level but also on the tribal or community and family level (Wilson, 1972).

1.4. LIVING CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN RURAL AREAS

Poverty is the over-riding aspect of economic life in the rural areas. The present circumstances of an eroding economic base, overflowing population, and pervasive unemployment are responsible for the poverty in the "homelands". The fact that even the migrant labourers are employed at wage levels, which are insufficient to support both them and their families, makes the "homelands" to continue as loci of both poverty and underdevelopment (Southall, 1983).

The migrant labour system dislocates the social structure so as to produce a heavy preponderance of females in reserve society. In this connection Southall writes:

"The effect has been to transform the reserves into appendages of the white economy within which the aged, the unemployable and the unproductive can be coercively interned." (Southall, 1983, pp. 208 - 209)

The necessary result of this reserve underdevelopment is that the heaviest burden falls upon the women. With about half the able-bodied male population absent

from home at any one time, agricultural production has in the main to be undertaken by the women left behind. It is the lot of the womenfolk, therefore, not only to care for children and any other dependants and to supervise the household, but also to produce crops and look after any livestock. Overwhelmed by the load of work under their shoulders, mothers are forced to assign some duties to the children, who in many circumstances are still too young to assume responsibility for such duties.

According to Wilson (1972), illegitimacy, bigamy as well as desertion have been in many cases traced back to migrant labour. Not only are wives left alone in the rural areas for a period of time liable to temptation, but in the industrial areas with less social restraint, men form intimate relationships with women other than their wives. The feelings of loneliness and helplessness combined with poverty which the women experience when their husbands are away are bitter. The women have to wait anxiously for a letter and hopefully some money from their husbands. The anxiety is not only over money but also from wondering as to whether the husband is going to remain faithful to those he left behind. This anxiety is justified considering the cases of men who just drift away and never come back home for a number of years, if they come back at all. The number of such cases is high.

A number of families have two working parents. The vast majority of women are employed for economic reasons. In such cases, the children are brought up by relatives or by housekeepers. Durojaiye (1976) considers the replacement of mothers by housekeepers

an inadequate substitution since these housekeepers are themselves under stress, inadequately prepared for the task of mothering and usually emotionally immature. Frequent changes of housekeepers means rapid changes in the way children are handled. These children have to learn to adjust to different housekeepers.

The absence of the greater part of the male population from the rural areas means that many children grow up with their mothers only while their fathers are at work somewhere else. Children are deprived the opportunity of living together with both parents; something which is crucial for the sound development of children. According to Biller (1974), paternal deprivation is a highly significant factor in the development of serious psychological and social problems. He writes:

"Paternal deprivation can lead to conflicts and rigidities in the individual's sex role adjustment, which in turn are often related to deficits in emotional, cognitive, and interpersonal functioning." (Biller, 1974, p. 1)

Biller (1974) based his views of the effects of paternal deprivation on the development of children on the major theories of identification, including the Freudian theory, learning theory, and the Parsonian theory.

At the same time fathers have always acted as authority figures within a family. With the absence of the fathers, there is also an absence of authority figures in

the families. As a result, children are growing up in a manner deeply disturbing to adults. Nobody who has seen women in the rural areas trying to cope single-handedly with their growing sons and daughters can fail to be deeply perturbed about the implications for the society in the future. In the past this problem might have been mitigated by the fact that African families were mostly extended families. However, at present African families tend to be nuclear in nature although, of course, extended families still do exist.

The above-mentioned conditions have resulted in not only harsh child-rearing methods designed to reduce parent labour, but have also decreased attention to child rearing. It simply is more difficult for the mothers to supply easily the same individual attention and affection that two parents can provide. The parents are increasingly using authoritarian methods in their upbringing of the children. Emphasis is on strict obedience of the children rather than flexibility. Children are seldom or never consulted on family decisions. The principle of seniority reinforces the principle of authority and obedience on rather well-defined lines. Hence younger family members are not only unaccustomed to cooperate, but also to defer to the views and decisions of older members.

In order to give a complete picture of the living conditions of the African children in South Africa, it is necessary to mention the typical family structures in the African community.

1.5. TYPICAL AFRICAN FAMILY STRUCTURES

Under traditional circumstances, residence after marriage is patrilocal. The young wife has no household of her own. She has to live with her husband's parents, work for them and abide by all their wishes and aspirations. The length of time the young wife will spend staying at the household of the parents depends on whether her husband is a first born or not (Soga, 1930). We therefore have two main types of households. The first type is comprised of those of oldest sons who live in the homes of their parents even after getting married as they will take over as heads of their families in the absence of their fathers. Unmarried sons and daughters, irrespective of their ages, remain in the household of their parents until they get married or leave the parental home for work elsewhere.

The second type of household is that of younger sons who after getting married stay for a while at the parental home and then leave the parental home to establish a home of their own which may be near the parental home.

It is apparent from the above discussion that the composition of a household changes for an individual during his lifetime and is not the same for all persons in a community. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent, but also paternal aunts and uncles who live with them at home. Other children, on the other hand, have only their parents and siblings as household members. Nowadays, under the labour migration system, the husbands are often away working somewhere else.

Having provided the background to the study, it will be proceeded on with the elucidation of the concept of symbolic representation which is the main theme of the present investigation.

1.6. THE CONCEPT OF SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION

The concept of symbolic representation has been explained in different ways in psychology. Symbolic representation is viewed here as involving a relationship between signifier or symbolic vehicle and what is being signified. According to Forman (1982), a symbol whether a gesture, a configuration of objects, sound, words or graphic, serves as a vehicle for conveying the meaning that has been perceived or conceived. A symbol, therefore, is viewed by virtue of the fact that it means something, as a form that has significance.

The line of thought followed here is that although symbolic representations are considered primarily a function of organismic characteristics, it is also believed that the social (interpersonal and cultural) factors serve to activate, direct, and determine the quality and function of representations. Symbols are viewed as a full part of a child's reality. What a child expresses, is viewed as a realistic-symbolical expression.

Much interest in symbolic representations has evolved from the almost universal observation that children at a certain stage in their development (between ages 4 and 9 years) make symbolic rather than realistic

representations of objects. Luquet (1927) argued that the child progresses from symbolic representation of visual experience or "intellectual realism" to a stage of visual realism.

It is here believed that the graphic representation of visual realism is only one aim or interest among that the young child may pursue in drawing. It is likely that the child is also interested in representing his/her emotional experience as well as his/her visual experience in a drawing. He/she, therefore, might deliberately choose a symbolic representation as more meaningful than a realistic one. When a child, for instance, draws his/her father with a very large mouth, he/she might know quite well that this is not how he looks, but this might be a more emotionally and symbolically satisfying image.

Selfe (1983) pointed out that it is much useful to regard drawings as essentially a symbolic activity since a drawing is never that what it depicts. The concept of symbolic representation being the theme of the present study will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

1.7. CHILDREN'S FAMILY DRAWINGS AS A MEANS OF INVESTIGATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

In view of the fact that symbolic representation is either linguistic or graphic, it was decided to apply graphic representation for the present investigation. The literature on children's drawings shows beyond

doubt the significance of graphic representation for children. In this connection Koppitz writes:

"Drawing and painting is a natural mode of expression for young children. They can depict their feelings and attitudes in graphic images and symbols long before they can convey them in abstract verbal concepts."
(Koppitz 1968, p. 74)

She goes on to say that drawings can frequently offer insights into a child's interpersonal relationships which other psychological techniques or methods fail to provide. On drawings, children could reveal what they did not dare put into words. A child may subconsciously feel ambivalent or hostile attitudes towards his parents and siblings; but on the conscious level, he/she will rarely criticize them. According to Koppitz (1968), if children are unwilling or unable to put their hostile attitudes towards parents and siblings into word, they can and do express them readily on drawings. A child can reveal unconsciously on a drawing negative attitudes towards his/her family by disguising the shapes of his parents and siblings and by using signs and symbols he/she him-/herself may not be aware of. Harris (1963) is in agreement with the opinion that drawing is a mode of expression for young children. He writes that children's drawings delineate perceptual experience and conceptual formation, represent fact and project fantasy, show clear developmental trends, and permit innumerable idiosyncratic expressions.

According to Burt (1962), the drawing technique is

one of the most valuable techniques available for children. He bases his argument on the fact that the drawing technique does not depend upon an acquired power to manipulate abstract symbols, such as words or numbers. The drawing technique, being a non-verbal technique, has also the advantage of being suitable not only for young children but also for children from underprivileged socio-cultural backgrounds.

In view of the fact that there are many drawing techniques used with children, the Family Drawing Technique was chosen as the one most appropriate for the present investigation. The use of children's family drawings as a means of investigating the relationship between symbolic representation and children's living conditions seems plausible. Most children in South Africa spend all their pre-school years at home. This suggests that the living conditions to which the children are exposed at this stage are those related to the home situation. This calls for a technique which assesses how a child perceives him-/herself, his/her family, and his/her place within the family.

According to Appel (1931), Hulse (1951, 1952), Hammer (1958), Reiznikoff and Reiznikoff (1956), and Koppitz (1968), family drawings reveal a child's attitude towards other members of his/her family and his/her perception of his/her own role within the family. Family relationships are said to be expressed by the relative size and placement of the figures on the drawing and by omissions, substitutes or exaggeration of the figures or parts of them as well as the formal elements of a drawing.

Koppitz (1968) is of the opinion that a family drawing

reveals a child's attitude towards his/her family and is not a faithful reproduction of the child's actual family, although it may be this too. She is of the opinion that in order to obtain the greatest projective value from a family drawing, it is important not to restrict the child as to whom he/she should or should not draw, even if the results are bizarre. The omission of parents, siblings, and the self-portrait is always considered highly significant and may be more revealing than their presence (Wolff, 1947; Koppitz, 1968).

Not only is the depiction of family members considered important in the analysis of family drawings, but the sequence in which the figures have been depicted also plays a significant role. In support of this statement Wolff says:

"Concerning the order and arrangement of figures, it is significant whether the child starts to draw father or mother, whether he draws himself as part of the family or omits himself, and whether he places himself as the first or the last figure or between father and mother. The position of siblings, too, is significant." (Wolff, 1947, pp. 134 - 135)

A child may reveal on a drawing his/her attitudes toward family members who may or may not be actually living with them (Koppitz, 1968). (This idea makes the Family Drawing Test particularly suitable for the present investigation because many children do not stay with all their family members. Family members may be absent from home for long periods

of time if they work far from home while others stay at boarding schools or with relatives.)

Hulse (1952) points out that the Family Drawing Technique elicits information on such matters as role in the family constellation, relationships with parental figures and siblings, and tensions within the home situation. Intrafamilial conflicts in different degrees manifest themselves in family drawings.

On the basis of such evidence, it seems amply justified to accept that family drawings could be used as a means of assessing the relationship between the children's living conditions and their symbolic representation. The Family Drawing Technique, therefore, offers opportunity to observe how revealing the detail of the symbolism is of the living conditions based on the child's relation to parents, brothers, and sisters.

1.8. OUTLINE OF THE REPORT OF THE INVESTIGATION

Chapter 2 deals with the review of the literature on children's drawing leading to the formulation of the hypotheses of the investigation.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology applied in the collection and analysis of data obtained from the family drawings and data about the home environment of the children.

In chapter 4 the results are analysed and discussed. The case studies are also presented in this chapter.

Finally, in chapter 5, a summary of the investigation is given, some conclusions are drawn from the findings, recommendations are made in connection with the application of the Family Drawing Technique among African children in South Africa, and possible areas of future research are delineated.

2. REVIEW OF STUDIES AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

2.1. ASPECTS OF STUDYING CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

The idea that drawings of young children may throw light upon the psychology of child development is not new. Goodenough (1926) writes that as early as 1885 Ebenezer Cooke published an article on the developmental character of children's drawings. Children's drawings have ever since been the subject of many investigations. These investigations have dealt with different aspects of the drawings. Harris (1963) is of the opinion that the psychological study of children's drawings may be considered as falling into several periods, each following its own principal lines of inquiry. The early period of descriptive investigation, which fell between 1885 and 1920, established the developmental character of children's drawings and culminated in the excellent account of the developmental stages. With Goodenough's (1926) successful demonstration that children's drawings can be used in the assessment of the intelligence of children the study of children's drawings took a new direction. Interest on the intellectual aspects of the children's drawings has continued to the present time. With the advent of the projective methods of personality study around 1940, a new interest in the drawing of the human figure appeared. The studies related mainly to body-image concepts and sex-role identification.

Although a large number of studies have been conducted on children's drawings, a small number of aspects of studying the drawings have dominated the field; and it is proposed here to give a review of the studies on children's drawings by reference to the main aspects of investigation. The review of the literature will further limit itself to the earlier studies since they were rich in insights into the psychology of children's drawings and they have furnished a picture of developmental aspects of the drawings that in general outline has been unaltered to this day.

2.1.1. SUBJECTS DRAWN SPONTANEOUSLY BY CHILDREN

The early literature on children's drawings frequently comments that children draw the human figure by preference (Maitland, 1895; Ballard, 1912; Luquet, 1913). This finding has been confirmed by later studies, although McCarty (1924) found that houses, trees, furniture, boats, vehicles, parts of houses, and animals were also drawn by five to ten per cent of all children. These and other studies showed that the choice of objects in children's drawings depends on the child's individual experiences, and, as demonstrated by several investigators, even if children of a certain age prefer to draw the same thing, each child will have an individual projection upon the drawn figure. The preferred object has for each child an individual meaning.

The ability to represent objects in different age groups has indicated certain age norms in the graphic

handling of objects and figures.

2.1.2. DRAWING AS A DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE

There is a large corpus of work on the developmental character of children's drawings. One of the most extensive and carefully controlled studies in this field was made by Kerschensteiner (1905) in which he distinguished the schematic stage, the visual stage, and the perspective stage. Many studies were conducted in this field such that at present, the assumption that children's drawings show age-related systematic development is universal. The progress in children's drawings is considered to be sequential so that, broadly speaking, later developments can only be reached by way of earlier ones. Moreover, Lark-Horowitz et al. (1967) claim that the child art of non-Western cultures shows characteristics essentially similar to the child art of Western cultures.

Nevertheless, one of the strongest and widely held assumption about children's drawings is that there is a sequential development which reflects general intellectual and conceptual development. A broad parallelism is seen to exist between the child's drawing development and the development of his/her speech, formation of concepts, and indeed, thinking.

Three major contributions appeared from Luquet (1913, 1927), Rouma (1913), and Burt (1921). These descriptions are, however, the culmination of a large number of earlier studies (Harris, 1963). There is a great deal of agreement in the descriptions of the develop-

mental stages, although terminology does vary. However, from an appraisal of subsequent literature, it would appear that Burt's work had been the most influential and is most frequently quoted. The stages distinguished by Burt (1921, pp. 319 - 22) are considered as the most schematic summary of this genetic theory of the evolution of children's drawings. They are as follows:

(I) Scribble (ages two to three years)

Burt characterises drawings made by children between the ages of two and three years as follows:

- a. Purposeless pencillings, enjoyed principally as motor expression.
- b. More purposive pencillings, the scribble is a centre of attention and may be given a name.
- c. Imitative pencillings, modelled on an adult's movements rather than his production.
- d. Localised scribbling; the child seeks to reproduce specific parts of an object.

(II) Line (age four years)

Visual control is now progressive. The human figure becomes the favourite subject, with circle for head, dots for eyes, and a pair of single lines for legs. More rarely a second circle may be added for body, and more rarely still, a pair of lines for the arms. It is usual for feet to be represented earlier than arms or body. A complete synthesis of parts is unobtainable and often unattempted.

(III) Descriptive symbolism (age five to six years)

In the human figure drawing a crude scheme becomes apparent, with little attention to shape or proportion, involving principally head, body, arms, legs, and facial features. The general "schema" assumes a somewhat different type with different children, but the same child clings pretty closely, for most purposes and for long periods, to the same favourite pattern.

(IV) Descriptive realism (age seven to eight years)

Emphasis is on the descriptive rather than the depictive. The drawing still symbolizes than represents reality, though the scheme is more true to detail and to fact. Clothing and decorative detail appear.

(V) Visual realism (age nine to ten years)

The child passes from the stage of drawing from memory and imagination to the stage of drawing from nature. Technique has improved, and the child is inclined to copy or trace the work of others, or to draw from nature and he/she attempts a visual representation. There are two phases:

- a. Two-dimensional drawing, mainly in outline.
- b. Three-dimensional drawing. The three-quarter view may be attempted, particular

persons are depicted, action is introduced. The child begins to compare and contrast his/her own several efforts at a subject and consciously tries to improve his/her drawings. A little shading and landscapes may be attempted, with some concern for overlapping and perspective.

(VI) Repression (age eleven to fourteen years)

Drawings show a deterioration or regression. Progress becomes laborious and slow. There is increased self-criticism, increased power of observation, and increased capacity for aesthetic appreciation. Growing ability to self-expression through language plays a large part. The human figure drawings become rare in spontaneous drawings. When drawing of any kind is attempted, geometrical, ornamental, and decorative drawings become very common.

(VII) Artistic revival (early adolescence, though many children never achieve this stage)

From about the age of fifteen, drawings for the first time blossom into genuine artistic activity. Drawings are now made to tell a story and they approximate more the methods of the professional. A clear distinction between the sexes is now evident. Girls show a love for richness of colour, of grace in form, and of beauty in line whereas boys may

become interested in technical drafting.

The stages are, however, not sharply divided and the change from one stage to the other is said to be gradual. It is common to find some features characteristic of an earlier stage in drawings made during a succeeding stage. Nevertheless, the different stages are definitely characterised and are easily distinguished from one another. It has also been noted that not all children pass through these stages at the same age, nor do they all reach the last stage of development. This, among others, depends on psychic maturity and drawing ability as well as on certain external factors.

One result of this view of children's drawings was the Draw-a-Man Test of intelligence devised by Goodenough (1926). She used the child's gradual elaboration of the human figure in his/her drawing as a direct measure of the child's intelligence. Harris (1963) revised and updated this work retaining its essential character and he too emphasized the relationship between drawing and cognitive development.

2.1.3. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PERFORMANCES OF BOYS AND GIRLS

Differences of the sexes in the drawing ability were claimed by several investigators (Goodenough, 1926; Lewering, 1928; Machover, 1949; Koppitz, 1968). They all emphasize that the drawings of girls in the primary grades are superior to those of boys. There is also a consensus that this difference between the

sexes diminishes gradually. By age eight or nine, boys not only catch up with girls but often surpass them in the quality and details of their drawings.

Kerschensteiner (1905) found that boys excel in all types of drawings except ornamental designs, in which girls surpass boys. Koppitz (1968) is of the opinion that the differences in the drawings of boys and girls can be said to reflect attitudes in children that have been learned unconsciously in early life from the social and cultural environment they live in.

2.1.4. STUDIES OF DRAWINGS BY DISTURBED CHILDREN

Many psychologists, notably Sigg-Boeddinghaus (1929) and Levy (1950), have expressed the belief that disturbed or maladjusted children may reveal signs in their drawings from which the nature and causes of their difficulties could be inferred.

Rouma (1913) was one of the first researchers who began to study the drawings made by abnormal children. Part of his material, which also consisted of human figure drawings, was collected from a special school for mentally retarded children. He compared the drawings made by mentally retarded children with those made by well-adjusted children. He noticed that the drawings of mentally retarded children resemble drawings of younger well-adjusted children. Rouma further investigated the developmental character of the drawings made by mentally retarded children and compared the results with the developmental stages observed

in the drawings made by well-adjusted children. He observed that the drawings made by mentally retarded children revealed a marked retardation of the natural transition to succeeding developmental stages when compared with the drawings of well-adjusted children. He further observed that mentally retarded children took a longer time as compared to well-adjusted children to pass through these stages and that they never reach the last stage of development. He also observed that the drawings made by mentally retarded children showed a tendency to regress to former stages as well as the presence of features characteristic of the flight of their ideas, as is shown by the incompleteness and incoherence found in their drawings.

The work of Berrien (1935), Bender (1940), and others suggest that brain damage in children as well as in adults may be indicated by distortions in drawing. McElwee (1934) compared the profile drawings of normal and subnormal children and observed that, although the latter depicted more detail than the former, the number of incongruities resulting from confusion between the full-face and the profile position was much greater in the drawings made by the subnormal than in those made by the normal children.

In a study of emotionally disturbed children age six and under Owen (1955) claimed to have observed disorders of the body image.

2.1.5. MEASUREMENT OF INTELLECTUAL ABILITY IN CHILDREN

Several studies were conducted to measure the intellectual maturity of the child from his/her drawings. With the publication of the Goodenough Test in 1926, a new method for evaluating children was available. Goodenough (1926) developed her Draw-a-Man Test on the assumption that the intelligence of children could be assessed from their drawings of a whole figure of a man. Using a point-scale method, Goodenough demonstrated that drawing for children has a more cognitive than aesthetic meaning. The Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test was later revised and extended by Harris (1963) to include a drawing of a woman and also a self-portrait.

Koppitz (1968) developed her Human Figure Drawing Test on the hypothesis that the human figure drawings reflect the child's current stage of mental development. Koppitz compiled a list of signs on the human figure drawings which she believed to be primarily related to a child's age and his/her level of cognitive ability. These signs are called Developmental Items. She maintains that Developmental Items are primarily related to a child's age and level of cognitive ability and not to his/her artistic ability, to school learning, to the instructions given or to the drawing medium used.

The chief contribution of this direction of research was to demonstrate the intellectual aspects of children's drawings and to make a beginning at analytical studies.

2.1.6. PROJECTIVE USE OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

With the advent of the so-called "projective methods" of personality study a new interest in the drawing of the human figure appeared. Goodenough (1926) had anticipated that drawings of children could be used interpretatively in the study of personality. Studies in this field relate to body-image concepts; others to sex-role identification.

Machover's (1949) Draw-a-Person technique and similar drawing procedures are based on the self-image hypothesis. Machover's test requires the subject to draw a person, and having done that, to draw a person of the opposite sex. The psychological interpretation may rest on the presence or absence of specific parts, but more commonly uses the qualitative features of the drawing, for example, the general way a part is depicted, relative proportions of different parts, mode of treatment of line, contour, shading etc.

Attempts have also been made to diagnose personality as a whole from the drawings of children. Appel (1931) asked children to draw a picture of a house in which they live, of their parents, sibling, etc., and used the drawings as a means of exploring the child's reactions toward his/her environment. Traube (1937) found some relations between children's graphic movements and certain personality features. For instance, an inclination of vertical lines, which should be made at a right angle to the basic horizontal line, indicates, according to Traube, depression; preference for geometrical design and absence of living beings in a drawing suggest a mental blocking.

These and other studies laid the foundation for the view that children's drawings may be used as a psycho-diagnostic tool. Nowadays, drawing tests form part of the routine diagnostic techniques of many child psychiatrists and psychotherapists.

The studies on children's drawings included both cross-sectional studies by large groups of children at succeeding ages and longitudinal studies of the drawings made by a single child over a period of years.

2.1.7. CROSS-SECTIONAL STUDIES OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

A number of cross-sectional studies of children's drawings were conducted in an effort to ascertain the existence of developmental stages in the human figure drawings made by children. Two examples of such studies will be briefly discussed below:

- (i) Graewe (1932) made an intensive study over six thousand drawings of the human figure of subjects ranging in age from pre-school to adult level. He observed developmental changes in the drawings of children up to adolescence after which no developmental changes occurred in the human figure drawings.
- (ii) Zesbaugh (1934) analysed more than ten thousand drawings of a "mail-man" made by elementary school children. She also observed age-related developmental changes in the children's drawings.

2.1.8. LONGITUDINAL STUDIES OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Longitudinal studies of children's drawings from the time the children began to make a few strokes on the paper up to more mature drawings have also been undertaken. Two examples of such studies will be briefly discussed below:

- (i) Luquet (1913) preserved every drawing by his little daughter, no matter how crude they were, from the time she first began to draw at the age of three years and three months up to the age of eight and a half years. Great care was taken to keep the drawings free, not only from adult influence but also from the influence of other children. Luquet observed developmental features as shown by a comparison of drawings made during each successive year of life.
- (ii) Eng (1957) also made a longitudinal study of the drawings of her niece, Margaret, from the first two short strokes at the age of ten months up to her twenty-fourth birthday. She also observed age-related changes in her drawings.

These and other studies on children's drawings have led to the observation that children's drawings unlike those of adults are to a greater or lesser extent determined by the principle of symbolization.

2.2. THE SYMBOLIC PROCESS IN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Many present-day psychologists have come to believe that children's drawings depict not only the objective reality but also the psychological reality in the eyes of the child. Young children are said to depict their feelings and attitudes in graphic images and symbols long before they can convey them in abstract verbal concepts. In this connection Wolff writes:

"Besides a realistic approach in graphic expression, there exists a symbolic approach which has only the aim of evoking associations about particular objects."
(Wolff, 1947, p. 243)

Wolff (1947) goes on to say that the kind of representation seen in children's drawings has sometimes been compared with the kind of representation found in dreams as both have the characteristics of condensation, strange orientation in space, and an associative and symbolic character.

On this aspect of symbolic representation in children's graphic productions Harris has the following to say:

"Children never portray objects exactly as they appear. In their drawings, they select, modify, and even add to what may be perceived in the object. These tendencies occur whether objects are copied from models or drawn from memory. The 'meaningfulness' of the object to the child, even more than its difficulty (complexity and amount of detail), influences

the drawing that is made."

(Harris, 1963, p. 173)

Many investigators have observed that children's drawings abbreviate or simplify the image in ways characteristic both of the age level and of the particular child. The notion of an underlying graphic pattern or schema in children's drawings has, however, been interpreted in different ways. Sully (1903), for instance, saw such schemata as convenient simplifications.

Goodenough (1926), like Luquet (1913, 1927), accepted schemata as embodying the features of reality holding particular significance for the child. Read (1945), on the other hand, saw schema as the individual child's escape from his/her everpresent vivid images. He writes that because the child's images are inadequate to express feelings, the child invents a visual symbol which will express his/her feelings, communicate its quality to others, and fix it in the shifting world of appearances.

Eng (1931, 1957), in contrast with Read (1945), held that children's drawings are schematic not because of the greater significance of affect for children, but because their concepts are more concrete, less differentiated and abstract, and their drawing techniques are limited. She is of the opinion that children produce more realistic drawings as their concepts become clearer and more differentiated, and as their skill with the medium increases.

Oldham (1940) views children's drawings as always connected with children's inner needs and desires or as symbols of something that they know or feel.

Efforts to describe the drawing process or to develop a psychological theory concerning drawing have stressed children's drawings as representative, as expressive of affective and cognitive content. One view sees drawings as formulation in symbols of a child's concepts and mental experiences. These include his/her experiences of the visual world, but his/her expression of these experiences through symbols is not confined to the visual world alone. The other line of thought sees children's drawings as symbolic representations of the emotional life of the child. A review of some of the theoretical approaches to children's drawings is given below.

2.3. A REVIEW OF SOME THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

It is here proposed to outline some of the major theoretical approaches to the study of children's drawings. Although a large number of studies in this area has been conducted, a small number of authors has dominated the field and it is proposed here to consider theoretical approaches by reference to these major contributors. Each field has a contribution to make to our understanding of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of children's drawings.

Although there is quite a number of theoretical approaches to the study of children's drawings, the present writer identifies the following three major theoretical approaches to the study of children's drawings as relevant for the present investigation. It is not possible to review all the contributions

to the field, and only those which are considered to be relevant are selected.

2.3.1. THEORIES MAKING USE OF MENTALISTIC CONCEPTS TO EXPLAIN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

The traditional analysis of children's drawings stressed the child's mental immaturity, his/her conceptual deficiency (Luquet, 1913, 1927; Goodenough, 1926, 1931; Harris, 1963; Piaget, 1951; Piaget and Inhelder, 1956), the blurred quality of his/her memory image (Eng, 1931), and, more recently, the static character of his/her mental image (Piaget and Inhelder, 1971). It has generally been assumed that the child's portrayal of an object revealed his/her knowledge of that object; consequently, the peculiarities of his/her figure were considered evidence of his/her conceptual immaturity. Thus, a far-reaching correspondence was postulated between the child's thought and his/her drawing.

Although much has been written on the view that children's drawings relate to their general cognitive or intellectual development, Goodenough (1926), Piaget (1951), and Piaget and Inhelder (1956, 1969) are considered as the foremost representatives of this approach and their theories will be discussed below. According to the cognitive theories of graphic representation, the first representational forms which emerge gradually from the child's scribble exercises are crude shapes requiring his/her verbal interpretations to make them intelligible. Often they serve as points of departure for telling stories, giving

rein to playful imagination. Indeed, the progression from the early pre-representational substitutions for representation to the reinterpretations which verbally complete the figure or correct its perceived deficiencies parallels the child's growing representational skills and reflects his/her developing capacity to bring intention, conception, and workmanship into closer alliance. Eventually the child's representational means are developed enough for him/her to discard verbal interpretations or relegate them to a subordinate role.

The first representational forms serve many purposes, only very gradually acquiring specificity. Indeed, representational development proceeds from an absolute freedom from conventions and lack of specificity in the choice of forms and their orientation and placement on the page to a representation increasingly determined by a spatial framework and by objective relationships, distinctive forms, and orientation. It is remarkable, however, that even at the early stages of representational development a certain internal order and visual coherence in the organisation of the figure is maintained.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that representation begins with the child's playful exploration of the medium and its symbolic transformation and comes increasingly under the domination of the visual attributes of the object, recreating its structural and dynamic characteristics. The development of graphic representation of children is viewed according to the cognitive theory as progressing from symbolic to realistic representation. The link with symbolic representation, however, is considered to be never

completely lost.

a) Goodenough's view on the cognitive aspect of children's drawings

Goodenough (1926) discerned cognitive elements in the genesis of children's drawings. She regarded drawings of little children as language, a form of cognitive expression, and whose purpose is not primarily aesthetic. Children's drawings are regarded as depending primarily on the child's concept of an object rather than upon the immediate visual image. The concepts become differentiated as the child increases his/her contacts with the objects under different circumstances and as he/she discriminates more and more aspects of them. His/her drawings likewise show more and more aspects of them. Goodenough is of the opinion that when a young child who draws head, trunk, and legs begins to add the arms, he/she does not do so invariably. As his/her concepts develop, the arms tend more and more to become an essential part and are more consistently depicted on the drawings until the child no longer considers his/her drawings complete without the arms. Goodenough summarises this process as follows:

"It may thus be said that at any given time a child's drawing will consist of two parts - the first part embracing those characteristics which have already become an integral part of his concept of the object drawn, and consequently appear invariably; the second part including the elements which are in the process of becoming integrated and are therefore shown with more or less ir-

regularity." (Goodenough, 1926, p. 75)

From the above quotation, it becomes clear that the frequency with which any given characteristic tends to appear on a drawing is a function of the extent to which it has become integrated into the developing concept and is, therefore, considered as an index of concept development.

Such is the theoretical assumption of the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test. In this approach, a child who depicted several items of a man would be considered more intelligent than the one who included just a few, irrespective of how expressive or stylized the latter's rendering of the man happened to be.

b) Piaget's view of the development of representational thought

The most detailed analysis of the development of representational thought was made by Piaget (Piaget and Inhelder), who addressed himself in a series of studies (1951, 1956, 1969, 1971) to the growth of the symbolic function in the child. According to Piaget, the mental image plays an important role in the development of representational thought. He postulates that it provides the link between the genetically earlier perceptual processes and later, representational ones. The perception of an object is bound to its immediate presence in the visual field; representation implies the capacity to evoke absent realities. It is the mental image or the symbol which represents the missing object, while its meaning is supplied by thought.

Piaget believes that the mental image is the continuation and product of the child's imitative activity, which develops during the sensory motor period, and that the image constitutes a kind of internal copy of the object, closely resembling it. Between the ages of two and seven, the child's perception of objects is fairly accurate, while the perceptual (imitative) activity which constitutes the image is not yet fully developed and yields a relatively static mental image.

Piaget considers drawing a special case of imitation, closely related to the mental image, providing as it were a kind of index of the image. Up to the age of seven, graphic imitation of a model succeeds only insofar as the visual model is understood. Faulty imitations are the result of rigid mental image, incapable of analysis.

This attempt to relate childish drawings to the immature quality of the mental images has raised a number of questions. According to Arnheim (1954), representation implies abstraction and simplification.

2.3.2. HOLISTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

The chief exponent of the holistic and symbolic view of children's drawings is Arnheim (1954, 1967, 1970). Arnheim reevaluated the theory which considers children's drawings as indices of their conceptual maturity from the perspective of a theory of representation. Arnheim is of the opinion that a child does not attempt to copy reality but tries to invent structurally adequate forms which can stand for the complex

objects. He pointed out that the shapes the child uses in his/her drawings, the first circles and lines he/she produces are not provided by the object, but are created by the child and are thus his/her genuine inventions.

This process is viewed as basically a symbolic one in which the child discovers graphic symbols which stand for an object or part of an object. That symbol may symbolize more than the fixed view static visual properties of the object. Arnheim does not doubt that children see more than they draw and that representation of objects is not as differentiated as the perception of objects. The child has to invent or discover structural equivalents that stand for objects or characterizing features of objects.

Arnheim concludes that conceptual confusion and misinterpretations are inevitable if a drawing is judged on the criterion of how far it replicates a fixed view of an object, rather than a symbolic representation or structural equivalent of the object in terms of the medium. When viewing representational development through Arnheim's approach, each stage in drawing has a functional integrity. The child invents structural equivalents for what he/she wants to represent of the objects at that time.

Arnheim has two notable followers who largely agree with his view and make use of his concepts. Golomb (1974) studied the effects of using various materials and direct instructions on children's creative productions. She concluded that developmental immaturities were dependent on the medium the child was working with, be it modelling, painting or drawing. Goodnow (1977) also uses Arnheim's concepts of structural

equivalence in her description of the process and product in young children's drawings.

This approach, therefore, considers children's drawings not only as representing what the object looks like but perhaps, more importantly, as producing a satisfying symbol of aspects of experience both visual and emotive.

2.3.3. CLINICAL AND PROJECTIVE THEORIES ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

This approach considers children's drawings as projective instruments. The foremost exponents of the projective approach towards children's drawings are Machover (1949), Jolles (1952), Hammer (1958), and Levy (1950). In this approach to human figure drawing interpretation, it is believed that drawings and paintings reveal children's desires and feelings. The drawing activity they hold expresses not only the needs and emotions dominant at the time the child is making a drawing but also the more deep-seated and lasting characteristics known as personality.

Drawings are also considered to be the self-image consciously or unconsciously projected. Distortions in the drawing are believed to be literal or symbolic representations of inadequacies or distortions in the child's self-image. Such is the theoretical assumption of Machover's Draw-a-Person Technique (1949), Buck's House-Tree-Person Test (1948), and similar drawing procedures. Machover's hypothesis is that the self-image is projected into the drawing of the human

figure, and that interpretation can be based on analogy. She writes:

"When an individual attempts to solve the problem of the directive to 'draw a person', he is compelled to draw from some sources. External figures are too varied in their body attributes to lend themselves to a spontaneous, composite, objective representation of a person. Some process of selection involving identification through projection and introjection enters at some point. The individual must draw consciously and no doubt unconsciously, upon his whole system of psychic values. The body, or the self, is the most intimate point of reference in any activity. We have, in the course of growth, come to associate various sensations, perceptions, and emotions with certain body organs...Consequently, the drawing of a person, in involving a projection of the body image, provides a natural vehicle for the expression of one's body needs and conflicts." (Machover, 1949, p. 5)

Buck (1948) accepts that the human figure drawing is a projection of the self-image and suggests further that the drawing of a tree is the projection of the self's adjustment to the natural world, and the drawing of a house is a projection of the self's adjustment to the human or social world. Both theories make many specific statements about the meaning of particular signs and the ways in which parts of the figure are drawn. Such characteristics as the size and place-

ment of the figure, completion or omission of features, pressure of line, shading of body and limbs and erasures were said to be signs of unconscious personality characteristics of needs, affects, and motives closely related to the person's body image.

Koppitz (1968) is of the opinion that human figure drawings reflect a child's level of development and his/her interpersonal relationships, that is, his/her attitudes towards him-/herself and towards other people in his/her life. She is of the opinion that human figure drawings may reveal a child's attitudes towards life's stresses and strains and his/her way of meeting them.

Drawings may also reflect strong fears and anxieties which may concern the child consciously or unconsciously at the time of making the drawing. Koppitz does not consider a human figure drawing as a portrait of a child's basic and enduring personality traits nor as an image of the child's actual appearance. She believes that human figure drawings reflect the child's current stage of development and his/her attitudes and concerns at the moment he/she is making the drawing, all of which will change in time due to maturation and experience.

On the other hand, most analytically oriented psychologists report that human figure drawings reflect primarily a subject's unconscious needs and conflicts, his/her defense mechanisms, his/her psychosexual development, and his/her sexual identification (Naumburg, 1947). Kellogg (1969) traces the development of drawing in children using a psychoanalytic model.

These and other studies have shown that drawing is

a complex activity which not only reflects the child's conceptual development, but clearly also has emotional aspects. This is the theoretical viewpoint on which the concept of symbolic representation in children's graphic representations is based.

It is at the point of defining the nature of the symbolism, that a sharp separation occurs. Those investigators who have been influenced by the Psychoanalytic theory tend to examine the content of graphic art for symbols to interpret, following Freud's and Jung's approach. The interpretations are based here on content symbolism. Others, however, seek evidence of psychological traits, qualities or states in the formal attributes or stylistic features of drawings and paintings. The general hypothesis behind this approach is that un verbalized feeling states are projected into the procedure by which one manipulates a medium that can be formed and patterned. The two types of symbolism will be discussed below.

2.4. CONTENT SYMBOLISM

Two main approaches to the interpretation of content symbolism will be discussed below.

a) The Psychoanalytic theory of symbolism

This theory hypothesizes a classic symbolism used for the expression of repressed drives and for the symbolic representation of sexual organs. Indeed, drawings are

held to be analogous to dream work. According to Freud, dreams are always wish-fulfilment; but their apparent content conceals a latent content of which it is merely the symbolic transposition. This transposition is due to censorship coming from the subject's consciousness and from his/her super-ego, or interiorisation of parental action. The latent content is censored because it consists of repressed tendencies, so that dream or drawing become the symbolic realisation of a repressed desire. Moreover, as each new experience of the subject is fitted into earlier situations, any recent repressed desires are necessarily bound up with the set of earlier repressed tendencies. This means that we are determined by the whole of our past, especially by the hierarchy of infantile tendencies, arranged according to the stage of sexual development; the oral, the anal, oedipus tendencies and finally transfer of affectivity to an ever-increasing number of new persons.

A symbol is, therefore, never simple. There is always "polysymbolism" owing to the fact that this intrication of tendencies and conflicts gives rise to a variety of meanings. The most elementary symbols are the product of a blending of images, which may be independent of censorship and may be due merely to factors of economy of thought. But there is also displacement of affective stress from one image to another, and this results from censorship. Symbolism is produced by identification and projections.

Freud considers that symbolization is the result of repression and that symbolic expression is related to concrete ideas concerning a person's personal life. Freudian symbols are, therefore, significantly asso-

ciated with a person's repressed sexual conflicts.

Freud has written at length on the significance of archaic material produced by the unconscious. He used the term "archaic heritage" in relation to these ancient symbols. He attributed the recurrence of archaic symbols to a uniformity in the human mind. To Freud, the symbolism of the unconscious was reductive, dealing primarily with past experiences that had been repressed but which were generally related to verbal rather than pictorial symbols.

b) The Analytic theory of symbolism

The Jungian or Analytical theory acknowledges the existence and importance of the personal unconscious as described by Freud, but regards such an approach as incomplete. Jung reproaches Freud with narrowing down the unconscious by restricting it to the field of past conscious experiences which have been repressed. According to Jung, alongside this personal unconscious there is a considerable number of elements which have never been conscious, and which cannot be so because they are not yet adapted to reality. In contrast to the individual unconscious, which is made up of memories varying from one individual to another, these elements which are prior to all consciousness are common to all individuals and, therefore, constitute a collective unconscious. These elements are characterised by the main innate, ancestral tendencies which govern the essential behaviours of the human race, from its most primitive vital instincts to its highest and most permanent

mystical tendencies. Jung considers the universal or collective unconscious to contain images which deal not only with past experiences that have been repressed, but also with future experiences that have not yet been related to consciousness but may be in the process of such development.

He considers symbolic thought to be a primitive awareness of inner realities. Underlying the variable and superficial individual symbolism, there is for Jung a collective symbolism which is the real language of the human soul. He regards the main general symbols to be hereditary.

Jung, therefore, does not consider that a symbol is a sign, as does Freud, for something that can be expressed directly in words. He regards a symbol as an expression of experience usable only when other modes, such as the verbal mode of expression, are inadequate. The "mandala", for instance, is believed to have a primitive and fundamental character (Jung, 1950).

The above discussion of the Freudian and Jungian approaches to symbolism will be followed by a discussion of the approach which relates symbolism to formal attributes in a drawing.

2.5. FORMAL ELEMENTS IN A DRAWING AND SYMBOLISM

Some psychologists are of the opinion that form rather than content should be the basis of interpretation of children's drawings. This view that formal elements are most significant for personality and consequently

symbolism than content as such is reminiscent of the theory underlying the Rorschach Test. A similar view concerning formal elements is held by Schilder and Levine (1942). They applied Freudian symbolism to the formal elements of line, colour, angles, borders, contour, balance, and the like, rather than to interpretation of content as do the majority of psycho-analytically inclined psychologists.

In accordance with this idea, Precker (1950) believes that the expressive movements involved in painting and drawing may have quite as much, if not more, psychological significance than the symbolic content of drawings. Hence he would examine the more formal elements like use of line, form, space, balance, and arrangement.

Liss (1938), a psychoanalyst, also joins Precker in discarding the content symbolism for a symbolism found in the formal aspects of drawings. Waehner (1946) similarly abandoned a symbolism of content for elements similar to those of the whole, shading, rhythm, perspective, balance, proportions, quality of line, and the like.

Elkisch (1945) used the following criteria in evaluating drawings and paintings: rhythm vs. rule; complexity vs. simplicity; expansion vs. compression; integration vs. disintegration. In a second article, Elkisch (1947) reiterated her position that a single production is insufficient for sound diagnosis, and that form rather than content should be the basis for sound judgement. According to Harris (1963), neither the Elkisch nor the Waehner technique has been used widely, possibly because their criteria require the

examiner to learn a special set of symbols, terminology, and judgements.

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that there is no agreement among the psychologists as to whether form or content will provide a better interpretation of symbolic representation.

2.6. SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

There is very meager evidence, if any, to show that a relationship exists between symbolic representation and living conditions, even though research evidence is available to show that children from ages 4 to 9 years, more often than not, use symbolic representation. Harris (1963) writes that too few studies have carefully controlled the psychological and social variables operating selectively in their samples, which are known to affect art productions. The problem is to bring emotional, expressive motivation for drawing into some significance, while taking account of cognitive and developmental explanations and offering a coherent model for all aspects of human development. It seems that a review of literature in this area has shown that very little effort has been made to combine emotional and mental aspects of the drawings. Most psychologists seem to adhere rather exclusively to one or the other method of interpreting drawings. Unusual features, for instance, of drawings are frequently ascribed to supposed emotional states, which, to cognitive psychologists, may be explained in other terms, such as developmental immaturity. The possible exception to this is the work of Koppitz

(1968), who has been unwilling to accept either method to the exclusion of the other. Selfe (1983) has levelled a criticism at Koppitz's work saying that it lacks a central coherence and fails to present a satisfactory integrated model of emotional adjustment.

This approach deserves more study than it has thus far received, though Langer (1949, 1953) has given some attention to children's symbolization. Langer sees children's drawings not as reflecting either mental or emotional maturity, but rather as reflecting the child's total experience and response to his/her environment, albeit naively, simplistically and with developmental constraints.

In agreement with Langer (1949, 1953), it may be reasonably suggested that an interpretation of children's drawings based on both cognitive and emotional aspects, taking into account both the content and formal elements of the drawings, may very well provide useful leads to the unanswered question about the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions.

Hare and Hare (1956) have suggested and evaluated the Draw-a-Group Test for identifying the social structure of the group and the individual's adjustment to it. Reiznikoff and Reiznikoff (1956) have offered an analysis of the Family Drawing Test, first suggested by Appel (1931) and also by Wolff (1947).

Brem-Gräser (1980) developed a test for the evaluation of the family situation through children's drawings of their families in animals. All these psychologists use a form of self-concept theory in their interpretative systems. All this material needs more extensive validation.

2.7. HYPOTHESES

The review of the literature reported in this chapter has led to the following hypothesis: The child's drawings are symbolic representations of the child's living conditions, i.e. his/her experience and response to his/her environment both mentally and emotionally. In particular, it is hypothesized that his/her symbolic representation of his/her family becomes a useful index for the symbolic representation of living conditions.

It is further hypothesized that:

- a) The order and the sequence in which the child draws the members of his/her family, the spatial arrangement of the figures, and whether the child omits him-/herself or a certain member of his/her family are symbolic representations of the living conditions of the child.
- b) The difference of proportions and forms used for the representation emanate from the children's living conditions.

In order to test the above hypotheses, family drawings were collected from a sample of children at the beginning of their first year at school the methods used in the collection and analysis of the data used to test the above hypotheses are discussed in the next chapter.

3. METHODS AND PROCEDURES USED IN THE INVESTIGATION

3.1. OVERVIEW OF METHOD

The present investigation is a case study consisting of 20 children. A case study was preferred to a study involving many children. It is the opinion of the writer that the type of information necessary for determining the relationship between symbolic representation and the living conditions of the children presupposes an intimate knowledge about the home environment of the children. A case study facilitates collection of very detailed information about each child, which a study with many children denies.

Family drawings were collected by the investigator in person from a sample of Sub-A primary school pupils individually at school (Sub-A is the first class of primary education). An interview was conducted with each child in the Xhosa language immediately after completion of the family drawing. Home interviews with the parents were conducted also in the Xhosa language at times chosen by the parents. Direct observations at the homes of the children were also undertaken. Individual case analyses and group analysis of the data were undertaken.

It is believed that many aspects of the children's experiences in the family may enter into the symbolic representation of a family. Hence the investigation covered as many aspects of the family matrix as possible. In agreement with Koppitz (1968), it is also maintained that a meaningful analysis of children's

drawings presupposes not only the child's age and sex but also information about the child's family and social background should be available. The need for such information is found even more necessary in order to assess the relationship between the living conditions of the children and their symbolic representation.

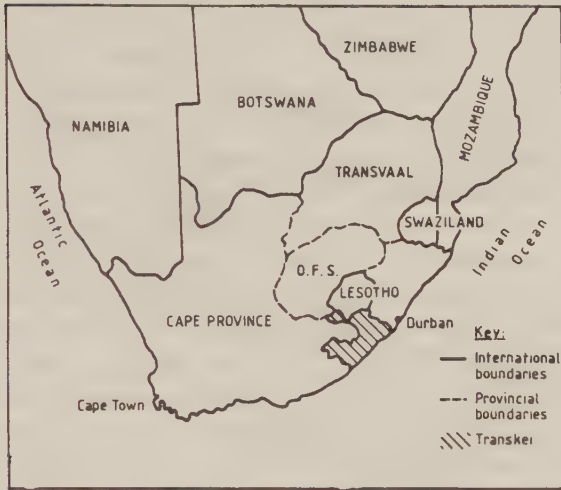
3.2. SETTING AND SAMPLE

a) Setting

Transkei, being the first homeland to get "independence" from South Africa in 1976, was chosen for the present study. The Transkei is situated on the southeastern part of South Africa, borders the Kingdom of Lesotho on its northwestern part, and borders the Indian ocean on the east. Map 1 shows the geographical location of the Transkei in relation to Southern Africa.

Map 1

The Transkei in Relation to Southern Africa



Source: Southall, R., 1983, p. xiv

The Transkei covers a land area of 42.000 km² with a population density of 65 people/km². According to the 1982 statistics, the Transkei had a population of 2,69 million permanent residents and 400.000 migrants in 1982 (Rand Daily Mail, 1984). The Transkei has a subtropical climate and is mainly an agricultural country.

Map 2 shows the magisterial districts making up the Transkei.

Map 2

The Map of the Transkei



Source: Southall, R., 1983, p. 269

It will be observed from Map 2 that the Transkei is made up of 26 magisterial districts. For the purposes of this study, the selection of the area of investigation was limited to the extremely rural areas. Flagstaff was chosen as the most appropriate area of investigation and is considered representative of the other rural areas.

b) Sample

The sample of the present investigation consisted of 20 children enrolled for Sub-A at the Sacred Heart Junior Secondary School, a public school at Flagstaff. Only children attending Sub-A for the first time were included in the sample. No specific information as to the mental abilities of the subjects was available, but it may be assumed that they represent the full range of intellectual potential normally found in Sub-A African school children.

The decision to use Sub-A school pupils as subjects in the study was based on several considerations. First, the theoretical framework, with symbolic representation as a central concept, quite naturally made the developmental period the most fruitful one to investigate. Second, Sub-A children being at the beginning of their school career have had no experience in drawing since most of the children handle a pen and pencil for the first time when they start attending school. It is, therefore, believed that the manner of representation adopted by the children will be rich in symbolism. Finally, children at the beginning of their primary education present a wide range of intellectual abilities and emotional maturity, since the readiness for school of the children is decided totally by the parents.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample by age and sex.

Table 1

Distribution of the sample by age and sex

Age	Girls	Boys	Total
5	3	3	6
6	4	7	11
7	2	1	3
Total	9	11	20

The subjects constituted a fairly heterogenous group. They came from widely differing family backgrounds. At the time the children were seen 25 % were living with both parents, 50 % were living with their mothers. 20 % of the children were living with relatives, without both parents, due to a number of reasons. Only 5 % of the children were living with the father without the mother. 55 % of the children come from nuclear families, and the remaining 45 % come from extended families.

The children came also from widely differing socio-economic backgrounds. The differences in the socio-economic backgrounds of the children are best illustrated by the following table on the educational levels of the parents which are considered as giving

some indication of the social milieu in which the children are brought up.

Table 2

Educational levels of the parents

Standard	Father N = 20	Mother N = 20
Sub A/B	4	5
Illiterate		
1	0	1
2	1	1
3	1	1
4	2	0
5	0	0
6	2	1
7	0	1
8	3	3
9	1	0
10	2	2
Teacher Dipl.	2	5
Graduate	1	0
Post graduate	1	0
Total	20	20

Table 2 shows that the parents of the children making up the sample have widely differing educational backgrounds. 23 % of the parents were either illiterate or did Sub A/B, whereas 28 % of the parents have matriculated. 10 % of the fathers have degrees and work in a professional capacity. 90 % of the fathers and 65 % of the mothers were employed at the time of the study.

3.3. METHODS AND PROCEDURES USED IN THE COLLECTION OF DATA

3.3.1. METHOD OF COLLECTING FAMILY DRAWINGS

There was a single method of data collection on symbolic representation utilized in this study. It was a Family Drawing Technique which was meant to measure the children's symbolic representation of their living conditions.

The school was visited a day before the testing actually started with a view to participating in the activities of the class from which the sample was drawn, in order to establish rapport with the children.

The drawings were made individually under my supervision at school. They were made in a vacant classroom that happened to be away from noise and other distractions. Individual administration of the Family Drawing Technique was preferred to group administration in view of the interviews to be conducted with the children immediately after completion of

the family drawings. Individual administration of the technique also offers the administrator opportunity to observe the children during the process of drawing and make notes of spontaneous comments.

The children were requested to make family drawings after a warm-up period of about 10 minutes. The time needed by each child to feel relaxed varied from child to child. Nevertheless, all the children appeared relaxed and eager to participate when they were asked to make the family drawings.

Each child was presented with a blank sheet of paper, size 22 x 28 centimetres, and an H.B. pencil with an eraser. The instructions were given in Xhosa, which is the mother tongue of the children, in order to avoid misunderstanding of the test instructions. The children were instructed individually as follows:

Kweliphepha eliphambi kwakho, ndifuna
undakhele abantu bakokwenu, ungabakha
nangoluphi uhlobo oluthandayo.

(On this paper in front of you, I would like you to draw a picture of your family, you can draw it any way you want to.)

The children were told that there was no time limit for the given task and that they were free to erase their drawings or to start afresh if they chose to.

The behaviour of each child was carefully observed while drawing and notes were made of any unusual features.

An interview was conducted with each child as soon as the family drawing was completed.

3.3.2. INTERVIEWS WITH THE CHILDREN

The interviews were intended to elicit information about the family drawings as well as the psychological factors which might have influenced the symbolic representation of the family members on the family drawings.

The interviews were conducted in Xhosa and were recorded on a tape recorder. The interview schedule is shown on Appendix A. Items 1 and 2 were intended to provide information about the family drawings in which each child gave details of the content of his/her drawing. Items 3 to 9 dealt with the information concerning family members. Item 10 required each child to describe in detail all that happened on the day preceeding the interview. It was assumed that it would be easier for the children to recall what happened the day before the interview than something which happened a few days before and that a day selected at random would be typical of the activities of the child. This information would also throw light on the chores done by a child.

In addition to the information obtained from the interviews, the children were further requested to clarify certain features of their drawings, if deemed necessary.

As shown on appendix A, the interviews with the

children dealt briefly with the information on certain aspects of their families. In view of the necessity of such information for a meaningful analysis of the children's family drawings, it was decided to make use of other suitable methods of data collection in this regard. Koppitz is in agreement with this idea when she says:

"It is here maintained that a meaningful analysis of children's drawings presupposes that the clinician not only knows the child's age and sex but also something about the youngster's family and social background. All clinical interpretations of drawings remain speculations unless they can be verified and supported by the child's history and other clinical data." (Koppitz, 1968, p. 75)

Information about the family and social background of each child was found necessary for a meaningful interpretation of each family drawing. Because a child's early environment is primarily limited to the home, family relationships are believed to play a dominant role in the development of symbolic representation. His/her parents, brothers and sister, grandparents, and other relatives who come in more or less constant contact with him/her during these early formative years of life, set a pattern for his/her future development.

3.3.3. METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA ABOUT THE HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE CHILDREN

Direct observations at the homes of the children and interviews with their parents were used for obtaining information about the home environment of the children. It was decided to use both methods in view of the fact that both methods have their own shortcomings. The interview, for instance, allows the investigator to collect information about the past and the present but it introduces the major problem of the interviewee's ability or desire to present a true picture of the required information. Observation of behaviour, on the other hand, has the advantage that the required information can be directly observed but faces the problem that the presence of an observer might affect the home atmosphere.

It was hoped, therefore, that information not obtained through one method would be obtained from the other method and also for the verification of information already obtained. The use of both methods of data collection in conjunction would ensure that many aspects of the family matrix will be covered. It is here believed that many aspects of children's experiences in the family may enter into the symbolic representation of a family.

A discussion of the observation technique as applied in the present investigation will be given below. The discussion of the observation method preceeds that of the parents' interviews because the research procedure was organised in such a way that the interviews with the parents be conducted after the

observations had been undertaken.

3.3.3.1. DIRECT OBSERVATIONS

Direct observations at the homes of the children making up the sample were used as one of the methods of data collection about the home environment of the children. Before going on to a description of the observation method used in the present investigation, considerations underlying the selection of the observation technique as particularly suitable for the acquisition of the data about the home environment of the children will be discussed.

The decision to use the observation technique was arrived at after considering the type of data needed as well as the families involved in the investigation. The observation technique has been successfully used by many psychologists in studies of parent-child interactions (Henderson, 1981; Laosa and Sigel, 1982; Medinnus, 1967; Bradley et al., 1977). They all support the use of the observation technique when they say that the forte of observation is the first hand nature of the data.

Familiarity with the cultural background, the language, and the community as such was found to be particularly conducive to the use of direct observations.

However, the nature of the information required for the investigation could not be obtained solely through observation. It was, therefore, decided to

conduct parents' interviews as well. The interviews would also be used to enhance the data obtained through the observations. As a result, the interviews with the parents were conducted after the observations had been made. It was also assumed that a reasonable amount of rapport would be established after a few visits to each family during which the observations would be conducted and would thus have gradually prepared the parents for the personal details to be requested during the interview.

The categories used in the investigation result from personal experience and familiarity with the social and cultural background of the children. A description of the categories is given on Appendix B. The following observation categories were used to obtain the necessary data:

a) Interactions

The interactions involving the children making up the sample were the primary focus of the observations. However, in order to get a clearer picture of the interactions, it was found necessary to observe also interactions involving other members of a family, particularly those involving the adult members of a family. Both direct and indirect involvement as well as the interactional context were considered important.

The following variables were used to describe interactions involving each child included in the sample:

- (I) No interaction if the child is engaged in an activity alone
- (II) Adult-child interaction
- (III) Sibling interaction
- (IV) Peer group interaction

The variables used to describe interactions involving the adult members of a family were the following:

- (I) No interaction if an adult is engaged in an activity alone
- (II) Adult-adult interaction
- (III) Adult-child interaction

Through the observation of the interactions, an attempt was made to obtain information about the child-upbringing practices adopted by each family, the person mainly responsible for the upbringing of each child included in the sample, the role an older sibling or relative plays in the upbringing of the child, the amount of time each child spends with an adult during every observation session, and whether the child spends more time with other children than with the adult members of a family.

b) Activities of the family members

The observations were directed here on how the family members spend their time. The types of activities facilitated and those restricted were also observed. The following observations were made:

- (I) The tasks assigned to the sample child
- (II) The tasks assigned to other children in the family
- (III) The tasks assigned to the adult members of the family

A discussion of the observation procedures in the present investigation will be given below.

3.3.3.1.1. OBSERVATION PROCEDURES

The observations at the homes of the children spread over a period of eleven weeks. In order to shorten the time intervals between visits to each family, the twenty families visited were divided into two groups of ten each, based on the proximity of the homes to each other. After the first group of families had been visited nine times per family, it was proceeded on with the visits to the remaining ten families on the same lines as the first group of families.

Before commencing with the observations using the categories mentioned above, each family was paid a visit.

a) The initial home visit

The initial home visit to each family was intended to explain the investigation in detail, secure consent to conduct the observations, establish the

daily routine of each family and establish rapport, note the personal appearances of the family members, and make the home-environment observations (see Appendix C for a description of the categories used).

The establishment of the daily routine of each family was found necessary in order to decide on the most suitable times in which to conduct the observations.

b) Observation procedures followed on subsequent visits to each family

In view of the fact that not all the family members are usually present at home throughout the day, it was decided to visit each family at least five times when all the family members are likely to be at home. Consequently, the first, third, fifth, sixth, and eighth visit to each family was made during periods when all the members were typically at home, most often as from late afternoon or over week-ends. The second, fourth, seventh, and ninth visit included only those members who happened to be at home during the visits. The children included in the sample were, however, present at all the observation sessions.

The data derives from eight visits to each family with a 3- to 4-day time interval over a period of five weeks. The visits lasted an average of 95 minutes. The observations as such did not start immediately after the arrival at each family. The first 15 minutes were devoted entirely to greet the family members. This was done firstly because greetings are for this society a necessity when people meet

and one also acquires a lot of information during the process of greeting each other, and secondly, this period of time was used to put the family members at ease.

The family members were then requested to carry on with their usual activities as if no one other than the family members was there. All the people present at home were noted and each person was classified according to age, sex, and relationship to the child.

During the next 30 minutes, attention was centred around the sample child. First, the sample child was located and the place was noted. The child was then watched closely and his/her behaviour was recorded using the categories shown on Appendix B as a guide. But in order to record the interactions fully, behaviour directed to him/her by others also had to be recorded. A full protocol was not written during the observations as this would undoubtedly affect the atmosphere of the home and would also not allow for a close attention to the child's behaviour. However, notes were taken at this time and the protocol was rewritten in detail as soon as possible.

The following 30 minutes were directed to the observation of the behaviour of the adult members of the family. The relationship of the family member to the child under observation was noted and the observations were carried on the same lines as those of the sample child using the observation categories shown on Appendix B. The total number of minutes devoted to each family depended on the number of adults present at the home during the observation. On the average, the observations per member lasted for 10 minutes.

The last 20 minutes were utilised for what could be called a "conversational interview". The conversations were recorded on a tape recorder. Questions, if any, about the child, family members, or questions arising from the observations were asked. The mothers or who ever was responsible for the upbringing of the child was asked to describe in detail everything that took place between her and the child throughout the day preceding the interview. The conversational interviews were intended to supplement the data obtained during the observations.

After the observations had been completed, it was proceeded on with the parents' interviews. Appointments were made with the parents at times chosen by them.

3.3.3.2. PARENTS' INTERVIEWS

Although valuable information about the family backgrounds of the children was obtained through the observations, it was nevertheless found worthwhile to supplement this information by conducting interviews with the parents.

The interviews with the parents were specifically designed to get at the most salient characteristics of the family environment.

In this connection, the parents' interviews were intended to elicit additional information about the families which could not be obtained solely through observation. There are situations, for instance, in which direct observation is difficult or might even

interfere with the activity being observed. In view of this, it is necessary to know all what happens throughout the day in order to get an insight into the social interaction within a family, observations alone were found not to suffice. Biographical information and the life histories of the children, for example, could only be obtained through interviews with the parents.

The interviews were further intended as a means of confirming or rejecting some impressions obtained during the observations. In this connection, Friedrichs has the following to say:

"Häufig wird man, schon um die Validität der Ergebnisse zu prüfen, die teilnehmenden Beobachtungen um einzelne Beobachtungen oder Interviews in der letzten Phase der Beobachtungen ergänzen." (Friedrichs, 1973, p. 303)

(It is common that the participant observations be supplemented by single observations or interviews during the last phase of the observation in order to test the validity of the results.)

The interviews were conducted at the homes of the children mostly with mothers and grandmothers. There were, however, a few cases where an elder sister, an aunt, or a father were responsible for the upbringing of the children and were therefore interviewed.

The interviews were conducted in the form of a conversation in the presence of other adult members of

the family. The children were not present during the interviews. However, some children were briefly seen when the interview began or terminated. The interviews were conducted in Xhosa and were recorded on a tape recorder. They lasted from 1 to 2 hours. The differences in the home backgrounds of the children made it totally impossible to use a structured interview. Instead, the interviewing was flexible, that is, the questions were rephrased, new ones were added, and others were omitted as the situation demanded. This was found to be in agreement with the aims of the investigation.

The interview is made up of 43 questions as is shown on Appendix D. The items in the interview schedule fall into the following five categories:

- (I) Family and socio-economic background
- (II) Child-rearing practices
- (III) Children's activities
- (IV) Parents' aspirations
- (V) Life history of the child

The interview schedule shown on Appendix D has already been translated from Xhosa into English.

a) Family and socio-economic Background

Items 1 - 16 in the interview schedule were designed to get at the most salient characteristics of the family life style and the socio-economic background. Fathers' occupational levels, fathers' educational levels, and mothers' educational levels have been

found in many studies to be the most reliable measures of the socio-economic status of a family (Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Hess, 1970; Deutsch, 1973).

In the present investigation, in addition to the above-mentioned indicators of the socio-economic status of a family, mothers' educational levels were regarded as playing an important role in determining the socio-economic status of the families in the area under investigation and were, therefore, asked for in the interview.

The number, age and sex of siblings, the number of other adults living in the home, and the family structure are typical items focusing on the family life style.

b) Child-rearing practices

Items 13 - 32 probe into the child-rearing practices. Rearing procedures are considered here as a continuous, reciprocal process in which the parents influence the child whose reactions in turn influence the parents. With this view, rearing procedures were asked for. Questions here also refer to the amount of contact between family members. Although this aspect was evaluated extensively during the observations, it was nevertheless found necessary to get a verbal report from the parents on this respect.

c) Children's activities

Items 33 - 37 cover the activities of the children. They deal with the extent to which parents, other adult members of the family, siblings, and peers share activities with the child.

d) Parents' aspirations

Items 38 - 40 deal with the aspirations of the parents. Item 38, which requires the parent to list items in their order of priority which the parent would buy for the child given the necessary money, was regarded as a good indicator of parental aspirations. Item 39 and 40, the minimum amount of education the parent wishes the child should receive and the occupation preferred by the parents for the child, are probably the best indicators of parental aspirations.

e) Life history of the child

Items 41 - 43 cover the child's early history with respect to activities undertaken by the child before starting to attend school, whether the mother and the child were ever separated for a long period, and any serious illnesses or accidents suffered by the child.

Having collected the data necessary for the interpretation of the family drawings made by the children,

it will be proceeded on with the discussion of the methods used to analyse the data.

3.4. METHOD OF ANALYSING DATA

The data collected in this investigation consisted of family drawings and data about the living conditions of the children.

Both individual case analyses and group analyses have been made on the foregoing data. The approach to the study of individuals was made through analysis of the family drawing of each child in the light of all other available information about the child. The outstanding features in the drawing were noted in order to facilitate the assessment of the relationship (or lack of it) between drawing characteristics, on the one hand, and living conditions, on the other.

In the group analysis of data, the number of children showing the same characteristics on drawings were noted. This was done in order to ascertain whether children showing the same characteristics on their family drawings would also have some aspects of their living conditions in common. However, no quantitative analysis of data was attempted due to the low numbers of the children making up the sample in the investigation.

The procedure used in the analysis of the data are presented below.

3.4.1. METHOD OF ANALYSING FAMILY DRAWINGS

Due to the absence of a suitable Family Drawing Test which could be used for the purposes of this study, an attempt was made to develop a Family Drawing Technique which could be used to get an insight into the living conditions of the African children in South Africa. None of the available Family Drawing Techniques seemed to suffice on its own, and it was, therefore, decided to select suitable criteria from the already existing techniques. The criteria for the analysis of the family drawings were taken mainly from Appel (1931), Wolff (1947), Hammer (1958), Machover (1949), Hulse (1952), Reiznikoff and Reiznikoff (1956), and Koppitz (1968).

The characteristic points of observation in the child's drawing of his/her family were the order in which the child drew the members of his/her family, the spatial arrangement of the figures, and whether the child omits a certain member of his/her family. The difference in the proportions and in the forms used for the representations was appraised. Consequently, both the content as well as the formal structure of the family drawings were found important for the purposes of this study.

A meaningful analysis of the family drawings necessitated the appraisal of each family drawing in the following manner:

1. Appraisal of the family drawing as a whole
2. Appraisal of each figure depicted on a drawing
3. Appraisal of the consistency - inconsistency in

the depiction of the different figures made by each child

A scoring sheet was compiled for the appraisal of the family drawings and is shown on Appendix E. Using the categories described below, information obtained from the drawings was filled in. The family drawings were not rated, instead the raw data was used for the evaluation of the symbolic representation. The appraisal of the family drawings was followed by a selection of all the outstanding features from each family drawing.

3.4.1.1. ANALYSIS OF A FAMILY DRAWING AS A WHOLE

The following criteria were considered important in the appraisal of the family drawing as a whole. It was here believed that the significance a child gives to his/her figures may lead to the idea which dominates the child.

a) Content of the drawing

The drawings were analysed for their content as follows:

(I) Persons depicted on a drawing

The first step in the analysis of each family drawing

was to make note of all the people depicted on a drawing. Role designations were used, e.g. mother, father etc.

The family members depicted on a drawing are then compared with the family members in reality. This information is used to provide information on the following aspects:

(II) Omissions of family member(s)

It is found necessary to find out whether the children would draw their families complete or leave out members. Omissions of family members and a self-portrait on a family drawing is considered significant.

(III) Fictitious family members included in a drawing

Fictitious family members depicted on a drawing, either as substitute to omitted family members or as additional family members, were also noted.

(IV) Sequence in the family composition

The sequence in the representation of family members was noted. It was found necessary here to find out whether the sequence in the depiction of the family members would be based on their chronological ages or on some psychological aspects. Special attention was given to the family member drawn first, the one drawn last, and the position of the self-portrait.

In cases where additional features, other than the family members appear on a family drawing, their sequence was also noted.

(V) Additional features depicted on a family drawing

Everything, other than people, depicted on a drawing falls under this category. Drawings of houses, domestic animals, furniture etc. are included in this category.

After the drawings had been analysed in relation to their content using the above-mentioned criteria, it was proceeded on with the analysis of the drawings with regard to spatial arrangement.

b) Spatial arrangement of the drawing

The spatial arrangement of the drawing was appraised as to the proportional relationship of the drawn whole to the form space as well as the positional relationship of the drawn whole to the form space. The handling of space is of special importance for judging the degree of a child's adaptation. The page on which the family drawing is drawn is regarded as representing the environment in which a child lives.

(I) Space usage with special concern for placement

This item was appraised using one or two of the following four positions:

1. Emphasis at the top of the page
2. Emphasis at the bottom of the page
3. Emphasis on placement at the right or left side of the page
4. Centrally situated

(II) Extent of space utilized

The drawings were appraised from the viewpoint of proportional relationship of the drawn whole to the form space. Of special interest here is whether the finished product covers the greater part of the paper or only a restricted area. This item was appraised as follows:

1. Drawing spread all over the page
2. Drawing drawn within a restricted area
3. Drawing proportionate to page

(III) Distance between the figures

The drawings were further analysed in terms of the distance between the figures. The distance between the figures on the paper is hypothesized to represent the emotional distance between the family members. The drawings were analysed for the distance between the figures as follows:

1. Too close to each other - if the figures are drawn in such a way that they touch or almost touch each

other

2. Reasonable distance between the figures
3. Far from each other

The drawings were further analysed for the consistency of the distance between the figures. In cases where there is some inconsistency in the distance between figures, figures drawn either too close to each other or farther apart as compared to the rest of the figures on a drawing, are noted.

(IV) Arrangement of the figures on a drawing

Here the drawings were appraised according to the placement of figures on the drawing as follows:

1. Figures drawn on a single line
2. Variation in the position of the figures on the drawing

c) Relative size of the figures

Just as the child identifies the space on the paper with the area of environment into which he/she puts the figures of his/her drawings, so he/she expresses him-/herself in the average size of his/her figures. This item was appraised as follows:

1. Sizes of the family members - here the sizes of the family members as represented by the child are compared to the real sizes of the members. Special attention is given to the size of the self-portraits.

2. Average size of the figures on a drawing - here the drawings were appraised in relation to the average size of the figures, whether the figures are on the whole small, big, medium, or show contrast in size.

It will be noticed that this part of the analysis of the family drawings is focusing on the broader aspects of the drawings rather than on single body characteristics. This is mainly because, in this section, interest was primarily on the total appearance, the "Gestalt" of the family drawing.

In view of the fact that the interpretations are a part of a broad inquiry into the child's individual emotional life, it was found necessary to focus on both the broader aspects of the drawing as well as on single body characteristics.

The appraisal of the family drawing as a whole was, therefore, followed by the analysis of each figure depicted on a drawing.

3.4.1.2. ANALYSIS OF EACH FIGURE DEPICTED ON A DRAWING

Each figure drawn on a family drawing was appraised using the following criteria:

a) Structure of the figure

The developmental stages in children's drawings of

the human figure were used in developing categories for the appraisal of the drawings in relation to their structures (Burt, 1962). The categories were arranged in their developmental order, starting from forms typical of younger children (all forms of scribbles) to those typical of older children (human figure drawings resembling a human shape).

The drawings were appraised according to the following categories:

1. No structuring of the drawing - all forms of scribbling fall under this category
2. Head-foot representation
3. Human-like shape - figures portraying a human-like shape were grouped under this category. The figures were further appraised for the adequacy/inadequacy of the presentation
4. Figures which do not fall under 1 or 2 but still do not resemble a human shape fall under this category

b) Integration of body parts

The drawings were analysed as follows:

1. Poor integration of body parts if one or more parts are not joined to the rest of the figure. The part(s) not joined to the rest of the figure is (are) noted down.
2. Well integrated body parts if all the parts are joined together.

c) Character and texture of strokes

The line quality is taken to indicate degree and direction of the child's energy. The character and texture of the strokes on the different figures depicted on a drawing as well as the different body parts making up a figure was appraised as to motor control, force, type, and consistency using the following criteria:

1. Heavy pressure
2. Medium pressure
3. Light pressure
4. Very heavy pressure
5. Heavy, light pressure
6. Heavy, moderate pressure
7. Moderate, light pressure
8. Very heavy, heavy pressure

d) Shading

This item was appraised as follows:

1. Shading of the whole body
2. Shading of one or more body parts (shaded parts are indicated)

The following degrees of shading were differentiated and the consistency in the degrees of shading of the shaded areas were noted:

1. Light shading
2. Medium shading
3. Heavy shading

e) Proportions

Proportions in the representation of each figure were considered from the viewpoint of the proportional relationship of a given body part to the drawn whole and body part to body part within the figure drawing. The following criteria were considered:

1. Similar proportions between parts and whole of the human figure
2. No relation between parts and whole; body parts which are out of proportion like large head, big mouth, thin arms etc. were noted

f) Transparencies

This item was appraised for the presence or absence of transparent body parts as follows:

1. No transparent body parts
2. One or more transparent body parts; transparent body parts are indicated

g) Identity and sex differentiation

This item was scored as follows:

1. Interchangeable male and female figures
2. Adequate role assignment expressed through clothing and/or shape

h) Details

This item was evaluated as to the quantity, relevance, and the emphasis placed upon the details as follows:

1. Lack of details
2. Few details
3. Well detailed
4. Overemphasis on details
5. Overemphasis on small details

i) Manner of representation of the figures on a drawing

This item was considered from the viewpoint of the monotony or variation in the presentation of the human figures as follows:

1. Schablone presentation indicated by the repetition of form elements
2. Variation in the presentation of the figures indicated by deviation in shape, size, direction, dis-

tance from each other or little deviation in several of these points; the nature of the deviation is in each case indicated

j) Items depicted on a figure drawing

A list of all the items depicted on a figure drawing was compiled. The method of presentation of each body part was also noted. Each item appearing on a drawing was further appraised as follows:

1. Depicted at the correct place
2. Indiscriminately attached or misplaced body part

The drawings were checked for the presence of items which were assumed to appear on drawings of children of the ages included in the sample.

k) Presence of selected body parts

The drawings were checked for the presence of the items listed below and which were considered to constitute the basic minimum of items required to appear on the drawings of children included in the sample. Any form of representation of the items was accepted.

1. Head
2. Eyes
3. Nose
4. Mouth
5. Ears

6. Legs
7. Body
8. Arms
9. Hands
10. Feet

1) Special features on a drawing

In view of the fact that it is to be expected that there will be drawing characteristics which are typical of drawings made by one child and which do not appear on the drawings of other children, it was decided to make note of all features appearing on a drawing not included in the list of categories mentioned above.

Note was also made of frequent erasures and/or destroyal of a drawing. In each case, the consistency - inconsistency in the depiction of the different figures made by each child was assessed, using the above-mentioned criteria.

The drawings were then scored for the levels of cognitive ability of the children which was found necessary for a meaningful analysis of the drawings.

3.4.1.3. ASSESSMENT OF THE COGNITIVE ABILITIES OF
THE CHILDREN FROM THEIR HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS

In view of the fact that no information about the cognitive abilities of the children was available,

other than inferences which could be made from the biographical data regarding the educational and occupational levels of the parents, it was decided to score the drawings using Koppitz's scoring system for mental maturity (Koppitz, 1968). A previous research conducted by the writer (1982) on the possibility of using the Koppitz scoring system in the assessment of the cognitive abilities of African children in South Africa, indicated that a modified form of the Koppitz scoring system does give an indication of the cognitive abilities of African children in South Africa. As a result, those items which were found to be culture-bound in Koppitz's scoring system will not be included in the present scoring system.

Koppitz's scoring system is made up of what she calls Expected and Exceptional items on human figure drawings. A brief description of these categories is given below.

(I) Expected items

These are items which occur on 86 - 100 % of the human figure drawings of children at a given age. It is the absence rather than the presence of the Expected items that is considered significant.

Koppitz hypothesized that the omission of an item which falls into this category indicated either undue immaturity, retardation, or the presence of regression due to emotional problems.

(II) Exceptional items

Items which occur on 15 % or less of the human figure drawings are called Exceptional and are considered unusual. Koppitz hypothesized that the Exceptional items are only found on human figure drawings of children with above-average mental abilities. Appendix F shows the lists of Expected and Exceptional items for boys and girls aged 5 to 8 years.

(III) The method of allocating scores

In view of the fact that most drawings included more than one figure, only the first figure was scored for the cognitive abilities of each child. Scoring sheets were drawn for each age and sex group.

A value of 1 is given for each exceptional item appearing on a human figure drawing and a value of -1 is deducted if an Expected item has been omitted from a drawing. A value of 5 is added to all scores in order to eliminate the possibility of getting negative scores. The score thus obtained is called the human figure drawing score. These scores are then converted into levels of cognitive ability using the table shown on Appendix G. The scale used is the Stanford-Binet Scale. Koppitz is of the opinion that placing children into such general categories of functioning is more meaningful than giving them specific IQ scores.

The analysis of the family drawings was followed by the analysis of the information about the home environment which was found necessary for the purposes

of this investigation.

3.4.2. METHOD OF ANALYSING DATA ABOUT THE HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE CHILDREN

The information obtained from the interviews with the children included in the sample of the present investigation, the interviews with the parents, and observations at the homes of the children was analysed in an attempt to understand the symbolic representation of the families by the children. It was expected that the family background, family relations, and interactions would be related to the symbolic representation of a family. Thus in analysing the interview records and observation data, it was aimed to judge whether the living conditions of a child tended to influence the symbolic representation of a family.

When the interviews and observations had been completed on each subject, the information was divided into different aspects of living conditions for the purpose of data analysis. Since the subjects vary in age and have different living conditions, the data are best understood idiographically. However, in order to elucidate significant features, which may relate to and offer pointers to an explanation of the symbolic representation, an attempt was also made to appraise the symbolic representation of the group as a whole.

The following parental and home variables were considered as the most appropriate indicators of the

family environment of the children comprising the sample of the present investigation. However, some of the information obtained concerning the home environment of the children will not be included in the categories to be mentioned below since such information was found to be specific to an individual child and was, therefore, used in the interpretation of individual family drawings, if found necessary.

a) Socio-economic background

The following variables were selected as denoting the socio-economic background of a family:

1. Father's education
2. Mother's education
3. Father's occupation
4. Mother's occupation
5. Father's post-school training
6. Mother's post-school training
7. Other

b) Family type

Two types of family structures were differentiated, namely:

1. Extended family structure in which a child stays with his/her parents, siblings, and other relatives
2. Nuclear family structure in which a child stays only with his/her parents and siblings

c) Family size and density

Density is defined here as variation in intervals between siblings, short intervals denoting high density. This area seems important since family density may affect a mother's contact behaviour with a child regardless of her method of child-rearing. The following variables were considered pertinent measures of family size and density which would affect the time a mother would have available to give one particular child as well as social interaction within a family:

1. Total number of children
2. Total number of adults
3. Average spacing of the children
4. Time span to next younger child
5. Time span to next older child

d) Birthorder and sex

The ordinal positions of the children, whether first born, second born, third born, last born etc., were noted. Information pertaining to the sex of all the children in a family was noted.

e) Patterns of child-rearing

The patterns of child-rearing practices used by the parents were evaluated using the following criteria:

1. Democratic: The parents explain why certain behaviour is expected, believing that the child has a right to know what is expected of him/her; the parent is willing to listen to the child's explanation of his/her behaviour; punishment is given when the child knows he/she has been disobedient; and such punishment is closely related to the act rather than corporal punishment.
2. Authoritarian: The parents take total control and allow no explanation. No attempt is made to explain the reasonableness of a rule; the parent assumes that any misdemeanour is intentional and punishment is always corporal and of a harsh nature. A dictatorial relationship is established.
3. Permissive: The parent exercises little or no control in the belief that the child will learn from the consequences of his/her acts.
4. Not clearly differentiated

f) Child-rearing practices

The following criteria were selected as good indicators of child-rearing practices:

1. Family member mainly responsible for the upbringing of the child
2. Presence of a housekeeper
3. Involvement of relatives other than the parents
4. Number of hours per week (including week-ends) the child typically spends with mother, father,

or any adult family member

5. Types of rewards and punishments used in disciplining children
6. Maternal employment
7. Absence/presence of a father

g) Interpersonal interaction

Family interactions were evaluated by using the criteria mentioned below. Both the nature as well as the frequency of the interactions were noted.

1. Mother-child interaction
2. Father-child interaction
3. Child-sibling interaction
4. Mother-father interaction
5. Other

h) Family relationships

Family relationships are also considered important factors in a child's development. The following relationships were assessed:

1. Mother-child relationship
2. Father-child relationship
3. Father-mother relationship
4. Child-sibling relationship
5. Other

i) Family power structure

The power structure of a family was evaluated using the following criteria:

1. Father dominance
2. Mother dominance
3. Child dominance
4. Equilitarian
5. Other

j) Power and authority in the marital relationship

This item was appraised as follows:

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Equilitarian

k) Child's activities

This item was appraised as follows:

1. Chores done by the child at home
2. How the child spends his/her leisure time

m) Parental aspirations for child

The aspirations of the parents for the child were appraised as follows:

1. Minimum educational level most desired
2. Preferred future occupation for the child

n) Housing condition

This item was evaluated as follows:

1. Type of house
2. Space available
3. Condition of the house
4. Ownership of the house

o) News media in the home

The presence of the following news media at the home of each child was checked:

1. Television
2. Radio
3. Newspaper
4. Magazines

o) Play materials for the children

In this category, everything used by the children for playing was noted. However, the following categories were differentiated:

1. Self-made toys
2. Bought toys

The results obtained in this investigation are presented in the next chapter. The results will be presented in the form of case studies and results obtained from the group analysis of the data.

Using the information obtained from both the individual and group analyses of the data, the relationship between drawing characteristics and the living conditions of the children will be assessed.

4. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

As was indicated earlier, the main purpose of the investigation is to investigate the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions. In order to achieve this objective, both group and individual analyses of the data obtained in the investigation were undertaken. The procedures employed in the investigation have been outlined in the previous chapter and the results obtained will be discussed in the following order. Firstly, the results from the group analysis of the data will be presented and discussed. Secondly, the case studies will be presented. The above-mentioned considerations will make it possible for the writer to draw conclusions regarding the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions among the rural African children in South Africa.

Since the subjects vary in age and have different living conditions which means that the same symbolic representation used by two children could have different interpretations, the data are best understood idiographically. However, in order to elucidate significant features which may relate to and offer pointers to the interpretation of the symbolic representation, an attempt was also made to appraise the symbolic representation of the group as a whole.

4.1. GROUP ANALYSIS OF DATA OBTAINED FROM THE FAMILY DRAWINGS

Group analysis of data obtained from the family drawings was undertaken in order to obtain information on the percentages of children showing similarities/differences in their family drawings. This information would make it possible, with the help of the case studies, to ascertain whether such similarities/differences were a function of the living conditions of the children.

The following results were obtained from the group analysis of the data:

a) Family members depicted on a family drawing

The percentages of the depiction of the different family members on a family drawing are presented in the following table. The results of the investigation have shown that most of the children do not depict all their family members on their family drawings.

Table 3: Depiction of family members on family drawings

FAMILY MEMBERS	%
Mother	90
Father	35
Sibling	65
Self-portrait	25
Relative	40
Other	10

From the above table, it can be seen that the highest percentage (90 %) of the children made pictures of their mothers followed by 65 % of the children who made pictures of their siblings. Pictures of relatives also appeared more often (40 %) than those of the fathers and self-portraits which appeared on only 35 % and 25 % of the drawings respectively.

Table 1 shows the following features of the family drawings:

1. The family drawings were on the whole incomplete.
2. The mothers were the most frequently depicted family members.
3. The self-portraits were depicted very seldom on the family drawings.
4. The fathers were not frequently depicted on the drawings.

b) Sequence in the representation of family members

The sequence in the representation of father, mother, sibling, relative, the child him-/herself, and any other people depicted on the drawing was analysed and the results are presented in the table below. Presented below are the family members depicted first and last on the family drawing.

Table 4: Sequence in the depiction of family members on a family drawing

FAMILY MEMBER	FIRST FIGURE	LAST FIGURE
	%	%
Mother	55	20
Father	10	5
Sibling	30	40
Self-portrait	0	10
Relative	5	15
Other	0	10

Concerning the sequence in the family composition, the mother ranked first in the majority of the cases (55 %); siblings took the second place (30 %). The father was drawn first on only 10 % of the cases. Relatives were drawn first by only 5 % of the children. None of the children placed the self-portrait as the first figure on the drawing.

Siblings were drawn by 40 % of the children as the

last figure on the drawing. Only 20 % of the children depicted the mother, a self-portrait (10 %), and that of someone other than a family member as last on the family drawing (10 %). A relative was represented last on the family drawing by 15 % of the children. Only 5 % of the children placed the father last on the drawing.

The psychological factors which might have influenced the omission of a family member or his position in the sequence of the figures were hypothesized to be emanating from the living conditions of the children.

c) Line quality

The percentages of occurrence of various qualities of pencil pressure were calculated for each of the categories that occurred alone in a drawing and separate categories were made when several qualities of pencil pressure occurred in the same drawing because of variations in pencil pressure. Table 5 presents the results.

Table 5: Qualities of pencil pressure appearing on drawings

PENCIL PRESSURE	%
Very heavy	20
Heavy	20
Moderate	10
Light	10
Heavy, light	40

The above table shows that the majority of the children (40 %) used in their drawings a combination of heavy and light pressure. It was further observed that heavy and light pressure was not only used on the same family drawing but also on the individual figures depicted on a family drawing. The change of the line pressure on the drawings is hypothesized to symbolise the emotional significance which that part has for the child. 20 % of the children made drawings with very heavy pressure. This was also the case with children who used heavy line pressure. On the other hand, only 10 % of the children used either moderate or light line pressure. Table 5 shows that the majority of the children tended to use heavy line pressure rather than light or moderate.

d) Selected items on the figure drawings

The percentages of the occurrence of the items selected as constituting the minimum requirement of items appearing on figure drawing of children of the ages included in the sample were calculated and the results are presented on Table 6 below.

Table 6: Depiction of selected items on the human figure drawings

ITEM	%
Head	100
Eyes	75
Nose	50
Mouth	65
Body	95
Arms	85
Legs	100
Feet	100

The above table shows that although the majority of the children (95%) depicted bodies on their figure drawings, 5 % of the children did not depict bodies on the drawing. Body items which appeared on all the drawings are the following: head, legs, and feet. Arms appeared on 85 % of the drawings. The facial items, namely eyes, nose, and mouth, appeared on only 75 %, 50 %, and 65 % of the drawings respectively.

The data presented on Table 6 shows the frequent omission of the facial items including the arms.

e) Details

The drawings were analysed as to whether they are

well detailed or not. In that case they were grouped in the category of drawings having few details. 70 % of the drawings had few details and 30 % of the drawings were well detailed.

f) Spatial arrangement of the drawing

The percentages of the placement of the drawings on the paper were calculated for each of the categories that occurred alone in a drawing and separate categories were made when a combination of positions was used Table 7 presents the results.

Table 7: Spatial arrangement of the drawings

PLACEMENT	%
Emphasis at the top	40
Emphasis at the botton	0
Emphasis on the right	0
Emphasis on the left	5
Centrally situated	40
Emphasis at the top, left	15

The above table shows that the majority of the children (40 %) tended to place their drawing either on the top or at the center of the page. 15 % of the children made their drawings on the upper left

section of the page. None of the children made their drawings at the bottom nor shifted them strongly to the right. 5 % of the children made their drawings on the left side of the page. These different positions of the family drawings on the page are considered to carry definite meanings.

g) Sizes of figures

The results of the present study show that the children draw big, medium, and small figures on their drawings. 20 % of the children drew their figures big, whereas 25 % of the children made medium-sized figures. It is interesting to note that the majority of the children (55 %) drew small figures on their family drawings.

h) Shading

Shading was rare in the present investigation. Only 25 % of the children shaded their figures or parts of them as against to 75 % of the children who did not show any sign of shading on their family drawings. According to the results of this study, shading does not appear very often on the drawings of the children, so that a child's use of shading on the family drawing needs special investigation.

i) Integration of body parts

The results of the present study show that the majority of the children depicted well integrated body parts on their drawings as against to only 10 % of the children who showed poor integration of body parts on their figures. The analysis of the family drawings made by the children in the present study showed that the majority of the children make figures with well integrated body parts, so that the depiction of poor integration of body parts on the family drawings is uncommon and, therefore, needs special attention.

j) Transparencies

Transparencies appeared on a few cases in the present study. Only 20 % of the children revealed transparencies in their drawings. Of this 20 % only 5 % of the children showed transparencies of specific body parts on their drawings, with the remaining 15 % showing transparencies of their home buildings. The majority of the children (80 %) made drawings without any form of transparency. The appearance of transparencies on 20 % of the children's drawings is found not to be a common feature of the drawings of the sample of the present investigation.

k) Structure of the figure

The majority of the children (95 %) made human-like representations on their family drawings. Only 5 % of the children made head-feet representations on the family drawing. This observation that the majority of the children makes human-like shapes on their figure drawings, makes the depiction of a head-feet representation unusual for the children of the age groups included in this investigation.

l) Proportions

The results of the present study showed that the majority of the children made figures out of proportion (65 %) as compared to 35 % of the children who drew well proportioned figures. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to pay attention to the proportional relationship of the body parts on the figures.

m) Identity and sex differences

The results of the present study have shown that 44 % of the children depicted adequate role assignment on their figures as against 56 % of the children who made interchangeable male and female figures and with no differentiation between drawings depicting adults and those depicting children.

It seems, therefore, that the most outstanding common

trend of the sample was their frequent omission of family members. On the whole the representations of the human figures were inadequate and had few details. Often some body parts were missing, such as eyes, nose, mouth, and arms such that the figures had an inhuman appearance. Differentiation between male and female drawings, and in some cases between adults and children, was not clear. The drawings tended to be small with a combination of heavy and light pressure. The children further showed a tendency to draw either on the top part of the paper or place their drawings on the centre of the paper.

It was hypothesized in the present study that the children's living conditions play a very important role in symbolic representation. The differences in the symbolic representation of the families observed in this investigation are considered to be a function of the living conditions of the children.

The results of the group analysis of the data obtained from the family drawings point to differences in the symbolization of the families. This information was used as a basis for the interpretation of the family drawings. The data obtained from the family drawings as well as data about the home environment of the children were used for the interpretation. The interpretation of the drawings is given below in the form of case examples.

4.2. RESULTS FROM THE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The results from the individual analysis of the data will be discussed in detail in order to demonstrate the relationship between living conditions and symbolic representation. It will be observed that the family drawings offer insight into the children's living conditions to varying degrees and that some drawings are much more revealing than others. Before proceeding on with the presentation of results from the individual analysis of the data, the approach to the interpretation of the drawings will be discussed briefly.

4.2.1. APPROACH TO INTERPRETATION OF THE FAMILY DRAWINGS

The first step in the interpretation of the drawings was to view each drawing in its totality. This first stage can best be described as one of intuitive contemplation. With regard to this initial approach, the present writer concurs with the opinion expressed by Hulse (1952) who emphasizes the necessity of viewing the family drawing in its wholeness and permitting first impressions to enter the mind without undue interference from the critical intellect. During this period one takes note of the people depicted on the drawing, the size of the drawing, and its position on the page. One forms an impression of the nature of the child's feelings, responses, his/her attitudes towards others, and his/her receptivity to influences. One will also be able to infer something of his/her emotional maturity and his/her internal individual

balance or lack thereof.

Only after these broad insights had been allowed to impinge on the nonrational faculties, did the present writer begin with the detailed examination of specific formal elements in the drawings. The fine analysis of the drawings was begun with those details which struck the writer as most unusual or most characteristic of each drawing, relating these to the "Gestalt" as well as to all pertinent secondary signs. The third phase of interpretation is one of synthesis of the general and detailed observations which have been noted. Here again, the intuitive faculty is brought into play, for synthesis is not a mere summation of the broad considerations and the multiplicity of details, but entails integration of these into a unified, holistic picture.

The interpretation of the data was based on the understanding that no one-to-one relationship exists between any sign or symbol on a drawing and a definite personality trait or behaviour on the part of the boy or girl making the drawing as well as the person depicted on the drawing. The present writer is of the opinion that there is no single or absolute meaning for any particular symbol which may appear. Anxieties, conflicts, or attitudes can be expressed on drawings in different ways by different children or by one child at different times (Koppitz, 1968). The total drawing, therefore, and the combination of various symbols were considered and then analysed on the basis of the child's age, maturation, emotional status, mental development, social and cultural background.

Presented below are the case examples of the twenty

children making up the sample of the present investigation.

4.2.2. CASE EXAMPLES

The presentation of the cases will be carried out in the following order: First of all, the relevant biographical data of each child will be mentioned. Secondly, the content of each drawing will be given according to the sequence of the presentation. Thirdly, the drawings will be analysed on the basis of the symbols revealed on the drawings. This will be done by focusing entirely on the outstanding features of a drawing. The order in the discussion of the outstanding features on the drawings will be varied depending on the significance placed by each child on the different types of symbolism. Finally, the symbols revealed on the drawings will be interpreted on the basis of important information from the living conditions and life history of each child. In order to ensure the anonymity of the children and that of their families as well, first names, other than those of the children making up the sample of the present investigation, are used to describe the cases.

a) Case 1: Cawekazi, girl, aged 6

Cawekazi is the fourthborn in a family with five children. The first born, a brother, is aged 14 followed by an 11 year old sister. Next comes another brother aged 9 years followed by Cawekazi. The last born is

a girl aged 2 years. The father is a businessman and owns a shop.

Figure 1 depicts Cawekazi's family drawing. The drawing reveals her 9 year old brother, her father, her 14 year old brother, the self-portrait, her youngest sister, her mother and the last figure is that of her 11 year old sister.

Her family drawing is complete; that is, no one has been omitted. Cawekazi clearly reflects her feeling of belonging to her family group. In the drawing, the dominating threatening position of the father is reflected. Mother and children play minor roles. The drawing suggests that the father dominates at home (the largest size of the head) and the mother does not play an important role in the family composition (position towards the end of the family). The enlarged heads of the father and the eldest brother are taken here to indicate that the male sex is viewed as smarter and possessing greater social authority. The power possessed by the father is further symbolised by the depiction of arms in his figure which the other figures do not have. From the interview with the mother and observations of the family situation, it was gathered that he is very authoritarian and all discipline in the family is handled by him. The mother answered to the question on the disciplining of the children as follows:

- Q. Ngubani obukhali ebantwaneni? (Who is stricter with the children?)
- A. Ngumyeni wam. Ubukhali kakhulu ebantwaneni yaye akayinyamezeli inonsonso yabo. Nguye obabethayo xa bonile. (It is my husband. He is very strict

with the children. He does not tolerate any nonsense from them. He is the one who canes them when they have done something wrong.)

The drawing shows that the status of the mother is not very much different from that of the children with regard to the treatment they get from the father. She has mutilated the other members of the family, without noses, mouths (with the exception of the eldest brother), or arms. They are standing helpless there. Her family drawing can in a way be said to express protest against the oppression of the females by the males. The fact that only the father and the eldest brother are depicted with mouths symbolises this situation. It is interesting to note that only the males are depicted with eyebrows.

This placement of the figures on the drawing discloses once more the family power structure. She started by making the figures of the male members of the family and the females are drawn last. She drew the females closer to each other symbolising their strong emotional attachment to each other which is not the case among the male members of the family.

The position of the self-portrait and its graphic portrayal are found interesting. The self-portrait has been drawn in the centre of the family drawing. She drew herself in the middle between the male group and the female group but with an inclination towards the female group. This is taken as an indication of belonging to the female group. The fact that this child drew herself with a male shape catches attention. She even drew herself with eyebrows which other female figures in her drawing do not have, thereby expressing

her feeling of wanting to belong to the privileged group of people. She is therefore not identifying with her own sex but rather with the male sex. This indicated that this child is suffering from self-concept conflicts. She also depicted herself bigger than the brother after whom she comes thereby showing her strong need to be masculine and powerful.

Her drawing is slanting upwards indicating some unresolved emotional conflict. Her conflict seems to be centred around the female sex. Hence the slanting is more pronounced on the figures of the female members of her family. Above all, it suggests that this child lacks secure footing.

She has used both heavy and light pressure on the lines in her figures. The bodies of the father and the eldest brother as well as the whole figure of the mother are drawn with light pressure. This variation in the light pressure indicates emotional conflict. It may be assumed that the people depicted with light pressure of lines are the sources of the child's anxiety.

The baby sister was forgotten and was then drawn between the self-portrait and the picture of the mother after the family drawing had been completed. This, together with the frequent erasure while making the portrait of the baby who is also depicted without a differentiated shape like the other figures on the drawing, indicates Cawekazi's negative attitude towards the baby sister. It is also significant that she placed the baby between herself and the mother, thereby showing that the baby stands between her and the mother and indicating that the baby is getting from the

mother the attention she used to enjoy. It was gathered from the interview with the mother that Cawekazi resented the coming of the baby since before then she used to be the youngest child in the family getting attention from all her family members. She was already four years old when the mother got the baby. The heavy pressure on the picture of the baby seems to reflect Cawekazi's attempt at controlling her conflicting attitudes and impulses.

The birth of the baby in the family meant displacement and unhappiness for Cawekazi. The baby is being punished for usurping her privileged position. The baby does not possess a proper body as if she were trying to blot her out, as if she were denying her reality. Cawekazi is too fond of her mother to express her resentment towards her openly. So she vented her anger and frustration on the baby sister instead.

In summary, it may be said that Cawekazi comes from a father-dominant family which is also authoritarian. Her drawing further shows that the family power structure is based on masculinity. On the whole, her family drawing does give an insight into her family environment.

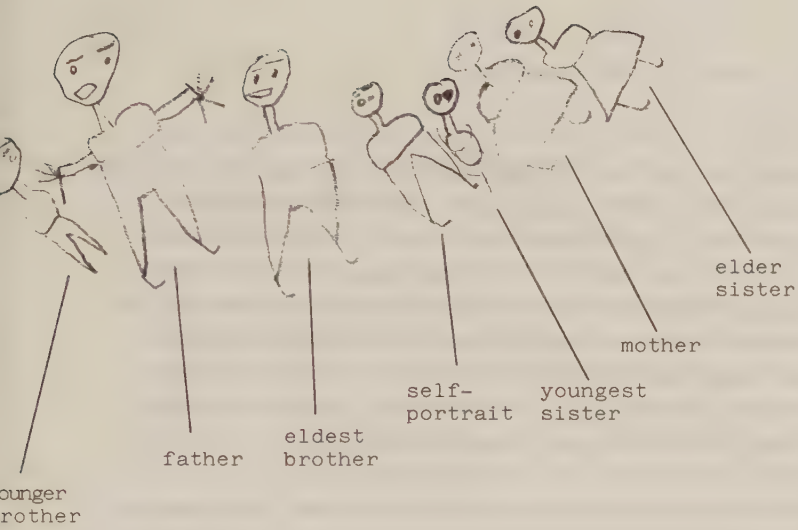


Figure 1: Family drawing by a girl aged 6

b) Case 2: Sisa, boy, aged 6

Sisa is the fifth born in a family with six children. The first born is a girl aged 16 years followed by a 14 year old sister. Next comes another sister aged 11 years followed by a brother aged 8 years. Then comes Sisa followed by a younger sister aged 3 years. The mother is a teacher and the father is working in Umtata as a clerk. The father visits his family once a month since he is working at a town 170 km away from home. The paternal grandfather and a paternal aunt are staying with the family.

Figure 2 depicts Sisa's family drawing. He drew his 14 year old sister cooking in the kitchen with the 11 year old sister opening the kitchen door. The eldest sister was depicted drinking tea. Sisa depicted his mother twice, washing clothes and coming from school carrying books. Then he drew his youngest sister going out to play and his 8 year old brother sitting on a chair. He drew himself sitting on a chair next to the grandfather who is depicted being greeted by the aunt.

The depiction of the mother two times and the omission of the father are the first features that catch attention. The omission of the father might be attributed to his physical absence from home as he is working in Umtata. The double depiction of the mother is here attributed to two reasons. Firstly, it is taken as an indication of the dominant role the mother plays in the life of the child. Secondly, it is taken as a reflection of the two roles the mother is playing, being a teacher and a mother. Hence she is depicted doing the washing and also carrying books coming from

school.

He depicted all the children as faceless creatures who are nobodies. The fact that he drew all the adults with facial features shows that he is capable of depicting facial features in a human figure drawing. Without eyes, noses, or mouths they are unable to see or to communicate the injustice they experience in the family. In this family there is not so much interaction between the adults and children. There are vivid differences in the treatment of adults and children with the adults getting the better treatment. The fact that the mouths of the adults have been drawn extremely big and with heavy pressure further emphasizes the likelihood of a lack of communication between the adults and the children. It further shows that the conflict of the child is related to the mouth since in this family the adults give orders and the children have to obey them.

The heavy line pressure on the figures indicates that he uses considerable energy and may tend toward emotional reactions. It is significant that Sisa has made his self-portrait the smallest in the family drawing although he is not the youngest at home. This might be taken as an indication of feelings of inadequacy and insignificance. The smallness of his self-portrait discloses once again the least important role he plays in the family composition because he is a child. His figures are on the whole small, thereby disclosing once again his extreme insecurity and feelings of inadequacy. The depiction of the kitchen is here taken to symbolise a need for emotional security and warmth.

The large size of the head of the grandfather indicates the dominant role he plays in the life of the child. This is further disclosed by the fact that Sisa drew himself sitting next to the grandfather. From the interview with the mother, it was gathered that Sisa is very attached to the grandfather who is acting as a father figure for the children. The head of the paternal aunt is the second biggest on the drawing. She is also playing an important role in the family since she is responsible for the smooth functioning of the home when her sister-in-law is at school.

The placement of the family drawing also commands my attention. The drawing is inclined to the left and also towards the top of the page and this may be associated with emotional conflict.

In summary, his family drawing suggests that the conflict that this child is experiencing is associated with the differential treatment of adults and children in this family, with a family power structure based on seniority. His family drawing which does not depict the father indicates the minor role the father plays at home due to his prolonged absence. The children are being brought up in a form of "broken family" situation.

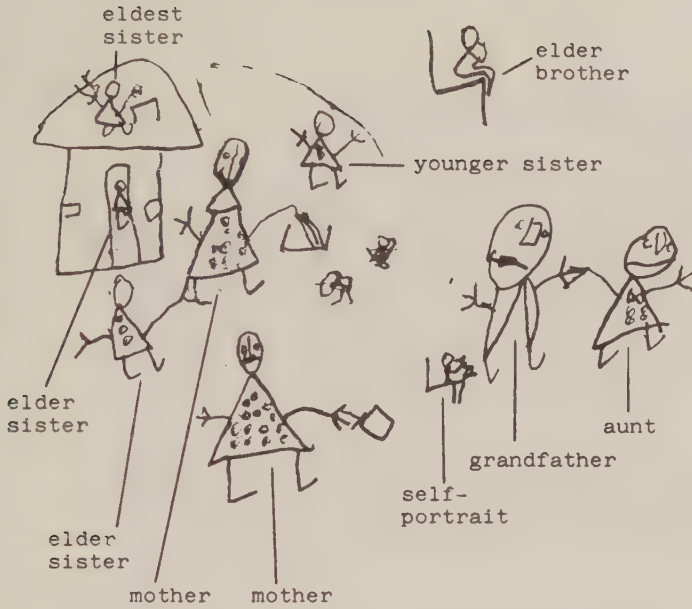


Figure 2: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

c) Case 3: Sivuyile, boy, aged 5

Sivuyile is the last born in a family with two children. His sister is 8 years old. The father is a magistrate and the mother is a nurse-trainee in Durban. Since 1983, two sisters of the mother, aged 14 and 16 years, have been staying with the family of their sister as they are attending a local school.

Figure 3 shows the family drawing made by Sivuyile. His family drawing depicts the elder maternal aunt, the younger maternal aunt, and the third figure is that of his sister.

The most outstanding feature of his drawing is the omission of both parents and the self-portrait. The omission of the mother symbolises her physical absence from the family as she is not staying with her family. She visits the family once a month for a week-end. The father, although staying with the children, is also not depicted on the family drawing. The observation of the family situation showed that the father, although showing affection for his children, spends most of his time outside the home working at his office or involved in a number of extra-mural activities. Even when he is at home, there is not so much interaction between him and the children. The omission of the self-portrait reflects the child's unconscious feelings of insignificance and rejection. He does not consider himself as an important or integral part of the family. The omission of the parents and the self-portrait as well might indicate the lack of a warm family atmosphere and emotional attachment to the parents.

One of the outstanding features about this drawing is that all the figures are head-feet representations. This representation is taken here as a symbol of poor developmental conditions which undoubtedly are having serious effects on the child. It might represent an essentially normal but somewhat slower rate of maturation. It seems that a severe immaturity due to developmental lag or emotional disturbance is possible. Sivuyile is a child of parents who are very concerned about their careers. He has never stayed at home with both parents for a long period since he spent his first three years only with the mother while the father was attending university somewhere else. As soon as his father had completed his studies, the mother left to train for her own career as a nurse and the children remained with the father.

The line quality which is thin and also reveals some shakiness can be associated with anxiety. The pressure on the line shows a combination of light and heavy pressure which is also associated with anxiety. Sivuyile appeared very anxious during the process of making the family drawing and in the interview. He gave the impression of a very shy child, taking too long to reply to questions put to him and replying in a low voice.

The smallness of his figures discloses once more extreme insecurity and feelings of inadequacy. His anxiety and feelings of insecurity could be the result of the fact that this child has never had a proper living space. From the interview with the father, it was gathered that Sivuyile has stayed already in four different towns due to the transfers of the parents. They never stayed at a place long enough

for him to develop genuine friendships and to feel at home at a place. He was taken care of by different housekeepers and relatives who are themselves too young to take care of the child properly. At present he is being taken care of by the younger sisters of the mother.

Sivuyile shows some emotional attachment to the youngest sister of the mother. Her figure was drawn with a big head and it is the only figure in which the eyes are not crossed.

Thus, this child has a physically absent mother as well as a psychologically absent father and, above all, is taken care of by young maternal aunts who are helpless in dealing with many aspects of the home and the family situation. This sort of background may have contributed to the insecurity, anxiety, as well as the slow rate of maturation as shown by the depiction of the "Kopffüßler" in his drawing.

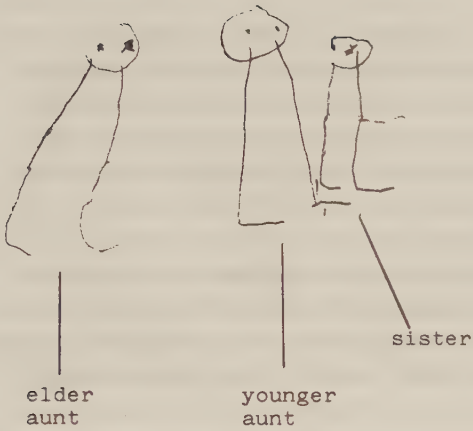


Figure 3: Family drawing by a boy aged 5

d) Case 4: Simpiwe, boy, aged 6

Simpiwe is the fifth born in a family with seven children. The first born is a boy aged 14 years followed by three girls aged 12, 10, and 8 years. Next comes Simpiwe followed by a younger brother aged 4 years and a sister aged 2 years. The parents are both labourers at a neighbouring agricultural farm.

Figure 4 shows Simpiwe's family drawing. He started by drawing three of his elder sisters in their chronological order, followed by the picture of the mother, then the elder brother, grandfather, grandmother, the father, a younger brother, and the youngest sister.

The manner of presentation of the figures on the family drawing is the first feature that catches attention. It reveals a group of people lined up without any differentiation between males and females and between adults and children. None of the figures have facial features and they lack details. Circles are used for bodies. It is rather a frightening picture. In this drawing Simpiwe indicated quite dramatically that he did not perceive himself as a member of a real family. He presented his family as nameless, sexless, faceless creatures who are nobodies. Without eyes, mouths, and ears they cannot see and communicate with each other. The omission of the self-portrait reflects his own isolation within a group of unrelating persons. The figures have human form but lack human spirit or personality. The observation of the family situation showed that there was little interaction and emotional involvement between the adults and the

children. The children spend most of the time with other children.

The sequence in the depiction of the family members is also found interesting. The first three figures of his drawing are those of his elder sisters who play important roles as caretakers of the younger children. The fact that the mother is the fourth figure on the drawing and the father the eighth shows the minor roles they play in the life of this child. Both parents are away from home the whole day and the children remain with the grandparents who are themselves too old to take care of the children properly.

The sizes of his figures vary, with the body of the figure of the grandmother being the biggest and that of the grandfather being the smallest. This shows that Simpiwe does not base the size of the figures on chronological age. The size of the grandmother indicates the special role she plays as the main caretaker of the children.

Simpiwe used arms as a symbol of affection. Only those people to whom he has positive attitudes, that is, the two elder sisters and the mother, are drawn with both arms. This information was obtained from the interview with the child. The family members who do not play important roles in the life of Simpiwe are drawn with either one or no arm at all. The pressure of the lines is heavy especially on the arms of the mother and the father. This is taken as an indication of emotional conflict. The parents are in a way regarded as rejecting, unloving, and unsupportive. It is also interesting to note that he used a combination

of light and heavy pressure in his figures. This is also an indication of some psychological conflict. The special role the eldest sister plays in the life of this child is further shown by the observation that although he drew arms of his figures from the waist, the arms on the figure of his eldest sister are attached correctly at the shoulders. When the mother was asked the following question, she said:

Q. Xa ungekho ekhaya, ngubani ogcina abantwana?

(When you are not at home, who looks after the children?)

A. Ngumama kunye nentombi zam ezindala. (It is my mother together with my elder daughters.)

This shows that the grandmother and the elder sisters have assumed the maternal role in the family since the mother is working 10 hours every week-day.

Lack of affection between the parents is shown by the distance between them on the drawing. They are separated by three figures. The fact that the grandmother and the grandfather are drawn next to each other highlights this phenomenon.

The figures are drawn too close to each other. This is taken to symbolise the small living space which this big family occupies. They are living in a very crowded place with the younger children sharing the same sleeping quarters with the parents.

His family drawing is compressed into a small area of the paper and more towards the top of the page. This shows a tendency of someone who withdraws from the environment. The world is ordinarily viewed as

hostile and threatening by such people.

The impression obtained from the family drawing is that the child is experiencing some problems in the sphere of communication in his family. He has projected this difficulty graphically in the shapeless figures without facial features and without any indication of sex identity.

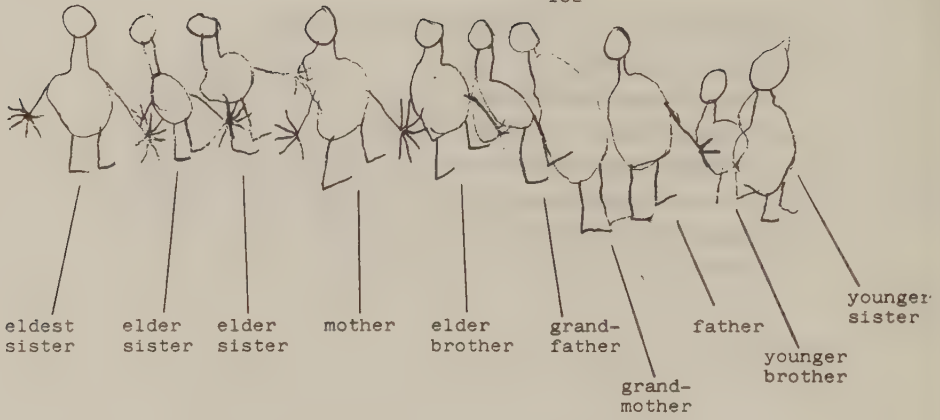


Figure 4: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

e) Case 5: Akhona, girl, aged 5

Akhona is the first born in a family with two children. Her younger brother was 6 months old at the time of testing. The mother is a teacher and is unmarried.

Figure 5 shows Akhona's family drawing. Her drawing depicts her brother and her mother on her way to town. The house in which the mother and the brother are staying is also depicted.

The incompleteness of her family drawing is the first feature that catches attention. The incompleteness of the family drawing indicates some emotional conflict. The self-portrait and the figure of the father are omitted. The omission of the self-portrait may be taken to indicate the emotional separation from her family since she is not staying with her mother and brother. The omission of the self-portrait indicates that this child does not consider herself an important or integral part of the family. It reflects her unconscious feeling of insignificance and rejection. Her social history shows that she spent only the first year of life with her mother and has always been staying with relatives. The aunt with whom she is staying at the moment is a businesswoman who owns a shop. She is too much involved in her business so that Akhona spends most of her time after school with a housekeeper. Nevertheless, Akhona spends her weekends with her mother and her little brother. The absence of the father from the family drawing reflects the broken relationship between the parents. (The father of the baby brother is not the father of Akhona.)

The heavy line pressure is one of the most outstanding features of this child's drawing which commands my attention. The heavy line pressure which inclines to shading on the legs and feet might be taken to indicate strong emotional reactions to the drawn figures especially since it differs from that of the house.

It is interesting to note that she has concentrated more on the drawing of the house than on the family members. The drawing of the house is quite adequate, with windows, door, steps, and a zinc roof. The figures, on the other hand, have few details and the bodies are indicated by triangles. The space allocated to the house also indicates the significance of the house for Akhona. The figures are confined to a small space on the paper, with the house allocated the greater part of the paper. This might be taken as a silent wish by the child to stay in that house as well. The smallness of her figures discloses once more her strong need to cling to some place or someone to gain security.

It is interesting that she depicted her younger brother with a head bigger than that of the mother. From the sequence in the depiction of her figures and the size of the head of the figure of her younger brother, it might be deduced that Akhona has a very strong attachment to the brother. This is further supported by the fact that the brother was drawn with arms the mother does not have. This might symbolise the resentment on the part of the child that she seldom stays with her mother as she has been staying with relatives most of the time. The omission of the arms and hands on the figure of the mother might indicate that the mother is regarded as rejecting, unloving, and un-

supportive.

The legs of the mother are depicted extremely long in relation to the rest of the body. The length of her mother's legs might be taken to symbolise the process of going to town. This going to town by the mother might also suggest a wish on the part of the child that the mother should visit her as she is staying in town or even pick her up to go and stay together with her mother and brother.

The impression obtained from her drawing is that of a child who desires closer contact with her family.

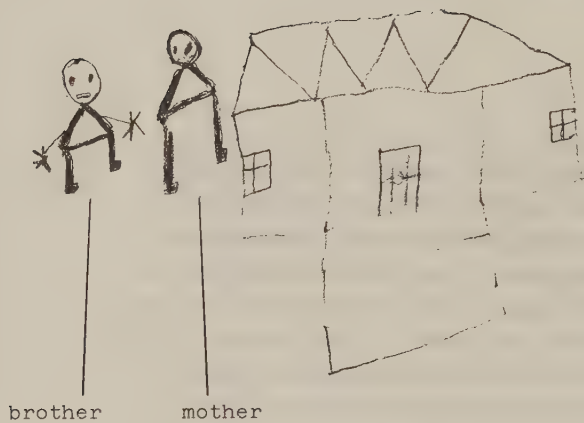


Figure 5: Family drawing by a girl aged 5

g) Case 6: Luleka, girl, aged 6

Luleka is the first born in a family with two children. Her younger brother is 4 years old. Luleka's mother is not married and is working as a housekeeper in Durban. Her father is working as a gardenboy in Durban as well. Luleka is staying together with her maternal grandmother with whom she has been staying since she was 3 years old. Her younger brother, a maternal aunt, and a cousin are also staying with them.

Figure 6 depicts Luleka's family drawing. She has drawn her mother, her grandmother, her aunt, a self-portrait, her younger brother, and her cousin.

The sequence in which the figures were drawn is the first feature that catches attention. Her figures were depicted in a chronological sequence except for the first two figures. She started with the figure of the mother followed by that of the grandmother. The fact that the mother is not even staying with them makes this observation even more significant. This indicates a strong emotional attachment to the mother. Even though she is not staying with her children, the mother is still the most important person in the life of Luleka. The mother visits her family at least once in two months since she works in Durban, 293 km from Flagstaff. The first two figures can be differentiated from the rest of the figures by size of the heads which are bigger than on the other figures. This suggests that the grandmother is the second dominant person in the life of this child. The figure of the mother does not only have a bigger head, as is the case with the figure of the grandmother, but

also the body is drawn much bigger than the rest of the figure.

Her response to the following question was:

Q. Ungathanda ukuhlala nabani ixesha elininzi?

(Who would you like to spend most of your time with?)

A. Nomama. (With mum.)

The omission of the father symbolises the family situation of the child. (The parents are not married and the child therefore belongs to the family of the mother.) Although the father visits the children once a year, he is not looked upon as a member of the family.

It may be significant that Luleka drew herself so much smaller than the two younger children, thereby showing her feeling of inadequacy and insignificance. The smallness of her figures discloses once again the presence of some psychological conflict. The heavy line pressure indicates that she uses considerable energy and may tend toward emotional reactions.

The distance between her figures is not the same. The figure of the mother is drawn slightly away from the rest of the figures, with the distance between the figure of the grandmother, that of her aunt, and the self-portrait being constant. The last two figures are drawn slightly apart from the rest of the figures but close to each other. The placement of the figure of the mother might be taken to symbolise her physical absence from the family since she is working in Durban.

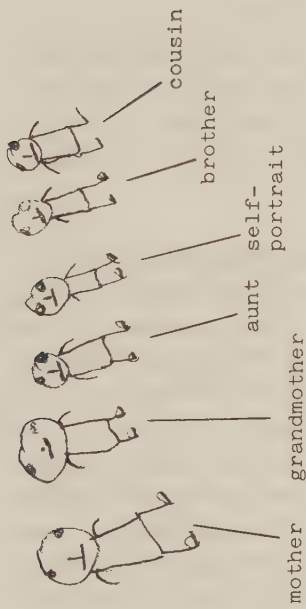


Figure 6: Family drawing by a girl aged 6

g) Case 7: Velile, boy, aged 6

Velile is the last born in a family with four children. His two elder brothers are 14 and 9 years old and his sister is 11 years old. His parents are not married and are not working in the same town. The mother is a teacher and the father is doing a clerical job at Lusikisiki, 44 km away from Flagstaff. All the children are staying together with the mother and the father visits them over week-ends.

Figure 7 shows Velile's family drawing. His drawing depicts the picture of the house in which they are staying, his father, and his mother. The father is raising his hand up in a gesture as he talks with the mother.

His family drawing is spread over the greater part of the page. Velile's family drawing focuses on the two persons who are the centre of his emotional conflict; all the other members of the family are omitted. The omission of the self-portrait and the siblings is the first feature which catches attention. It is interesting that he omits the people whom he stays with. Since no negative attitudes towards the siblings were gathered from the observations as well as from the interview with the mother, it might be assumed that the parents are the people who, at the time of the making of the family drawing, were of primary concern to the child.

The sequence in which the family drawing has been made also needs attention. He started by making the drawing of the house before making the human figures.

The drawing of the house seems even more interesting especially since the father is not staying in that house and secondly, his mother is renting two rooms in a house where three other families live. Although he started with the picture of the house, he paid more attention to the making of the figures of the parents than to the drawing of the house. This is taken to indicate the symbolic significance of the depiction of the house in the family drawing. The depiction of the house is here taken as a suggestion from the child that he would like the father to stay with them in that house rather than an attachment to the house as such. From the interview with the child it was gathered that Velile is very attached to the father. This is further supported by the fact that, when making the drawings of the parents, he started with the figure of the father.

His positive feelings towards the father are clear from his answer to the following question:

Q. Ungathanda ukuhlala nabani ixesha elininzi?

(Who would you like to spend most of your time with?)

A. Notata. (With dad.)

The pressure on the drawing of the house is heavier than that on the figures and this suggests some emotional conflict associated with the house.

The big size of his figures also catches attention. Both his figures are drawn big, which is not the case in reality. The drawing of the father is, however, even bigger than that of the mother. The size of the figures of the parents discloses once again the domi-

nant role they both play in the life of the child.

A close scrutiny of both figures shows that the figure of the father is depicted with more accuracy than that of the mother. This further indicates the positive attitude Velile has towards the father. It was observed that the mother, although very fond of her children, is very authoritarian. The arms on the figure of the father are depicted small and short in relation to the rest of the body. The short arms on the drawing may be taken to indicate a feeling of rejection of the child by the father. Differences are also evident in the depiction of the mouth on the two figures. The mouth of the mother has been depicted with extremely big lips, which is not the case with the figure of the father. This indicates conflict related to the mouth. The child would like the mother to communicate his wish to the father that he should come and stay with them.

The representation of the human figure is, nevertheless, adequate for his age. His figures are well detailed and show clothing items. The individual features are delineated and separated from each other. There is a clear differentiation between the male and the female figure as is shown by clothing and shape.



Figure 7: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

h) Case 8: Bantu, Boy, aged 6

Bantu is the only child in his family. His parents are working as labourers in a neighbouring agricultural farm.

Figure 8 shows Bantu's family drawing. It reveals his father and his mother.

The omission of the self-portrait is one of the features of the child's drawing which command my attention first. The omission of the self-portrait reflects the child's unconscious feelings of insignificance and rejection. He does not consider himself as an important or integral part of the family.

He depicted his parents without facial features. Without eyes and mouths they are unable to see each other nor to communicate with each other. The figures on the drawing have human form but lack human spirit or personality. He presented his family as nameless, sexless, faceless creatures who are nobodies. Bantu depicts his isolation within his unrelating family members. Bantu's drawing reveals that the relationship with his parents is grossly disturbed and that he cannot cope with it. He is living with his emotionally unstable parents who are engaged in much strife and violent discord. He comes from a family dominated by a very punitive and abusive father who is not only abusive to the child but to the wife as well. The wife is too weak to assert herself against her husband.

The spacing on the page catches attention. Although the father is drawn first, he is shown in the back-

ground and appears distant, thereby showing lack of emotional attachment between him and the father. The unsatisfactory paternal relationship is brought to the fore by the mother's response to the following question:

Q. Ubanini uBantu notata wakhe?

(When is Bantu usually together with his father?)

A. Lomntwana akafane abenaye uyise. Umyeni wam unqabile apha ekhaya. Ixesha elininzi ulichitha etywaleni. Xa ebuya ekhaya uba eyotyawe asuke abe engxolisana nathi.

(This child is seldom together with his father. My husband is scarcely at home. He spends most of his time at the drinking place. When he comes home, he is usually drunk and starts shouting at us.)

The breakdown in communication between the parents is shown by the fact that he has depicted them one below the other and not next to each other. It is interesting to note that the father who is anyway dominant at home, was depicted on top of the mother. At the same time, the father was depicted smaller than the mother whose body and head are bigger than those of the father. He reduced the father in size so that he can take orders from the mother, for a change. His pre-occupation and concern about the mother is depicted by the female shape used for both figures.

Arms are omitted on both figures. The parents are viewed either as unloving, rejecting, and unsupportive or as inadequate. Without arms they cannot do anything. Although the mother is loving to her child,

she is too involved with her problems to pay much attention to the child.

The line quality shows some shakiness which in this case is associated with anxiety. The anxiety of the child was observed during the process of the making of the family drawing and in the interview. His depiction of the figures shows poor integration of parts of the figures. This poor integration of the parts of the figures appears to indicate immaturity on the part of the child which may be associated with a developmental lag or due to serious emotional disturbance.

His drawing is on the top of the page and is made more towards the left hand side of the page. This is associated with insecurity on the part of the child. His drawing also occupies a very restricted part of the paper. Compression of the drawing into a small area is indicative of the performance of somebody who has a tendency to withdraw from the environment. The world is ordinarily viewed as hostile and threatening by such persons. He tends to feel a strong need to cling to some place or someone to gain security.

In summary, this child has shown his insecurity in his family. This is attributed to the father's behaviour whose discipline tends to be severe, harsh, or inappropriate relative to the offense. It was often arbitrary, with no understandable reason given to the child as to why he was punished.

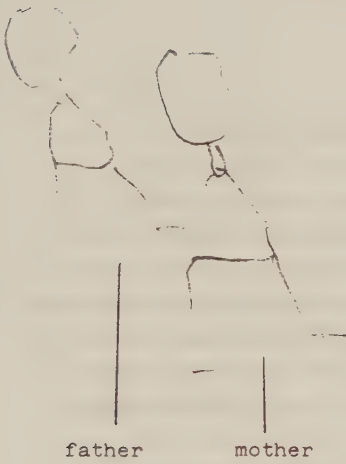


Figure 8: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

i) Case 9: Vuyelwa, girl, aged 5

Vuyelwa is the first born in a family with two children. Her younger sister is 3 years old. The mother is a housewife and the father is a labourer in Johannesburg, 788 km away from Flagstaff. Vuyelwa is staying with her mother, her younger sister, her paternal grandmother, a paternal uncle, and his wife together with their 2 year old son.

Figure 9 depicts Vuyelwa's family drawing. It reveals her mother and grandmother. Her family drawing is incomplete.

One of the outstanding features of her family drawing is the omission of the self-portrait. The omission of the self-portrait is taken here to indicate unconscious feelings of rejection and insignificance. The omission of the father is taken here to indicate his physical absence from home as he is working in Johannesburg and visits his family only once a year. The child, by omitting the father from the family drawing, indicates that the father is not considered as an integral or important part of the family. The omission of the other family members is taken to reflect negative attitudes towards them. These are the people who play very minor roles in the life of Vuyelwa. The omission of the younger sister might in a way be taken as an indication of the principle of seniority. The youngest sister does not play an important role in the family composition. Her figures are both shaded heavily. Shading of the whole figure is taken to reflect disturbance of the child and a feeling of being overcome by anxiety. It is interesting to

to note that, although the face is also heavily shaded, one can still see the facial features. This indicated that the disturbance of the child is not severe, although she shows signs of a psychological conflict.

This anxiety was very obvious during the process of the making of the family drawing and during the interview.

She depicted her figures with short arms which here is associated with the tendency to withdraw, to turn inward towards herself and to try to inhibit her impulses. Her drawing is on the top of the page which also indicates insecurity. Her figures are also depicted very small. The smallness of her figures discloses once again extreme insecurity and feelings of inadequacy.

Although the figure of the mother was depicted with legs, they are omitted from the picture of the grandmother. The omission of the legs is taken here to reveal conflict in that area. In this case, it is associated with the age of the grandmother who has problems with her legs.

The arms on the picture of the mother are not the same size, with the right arm much bigger than the left one. This is also true of the legs, with the right leg bigger than the left one. This is taken to reflect some psychological conflict associated with the mother.

The two figures are drawn close to each other, in fact, almost touching each other. This is taken to indicate the good relationship the mother and the

grandmother have with one another. At the same time, it is interesting to note that her figures have little resemblance to a human shape due to the shading and the more so because of the presentation of more than five fingers and more than five toes on the figures.

In summary, Vuyelwa portrayed her extreme insecurity as well as anxiety on her family drawing. Her "broken family" environment might have caused such feelings in the child.



mother grandmother

Figure 9: Family drawing by a girl aged 5

j) Case 10: Nomvuyo, girl, aged 7

Nomvuyo is the last born in a family with two children. Her elder brother is 9 years old. Both parents are unemployed. A 20 year old maternal uncle is also staying with the family.

Figure 10 depicts Nomvuyo's family drawing. Her drawing reveals her mother, her father, her uncle, and the elder brother.

Her family drawing reveals four faceless, sexless, nameless creatures depicted with three ears. Without eyes or mouths they cannot see or communicate with each other. The depiction of the family members does not show any differences between them. All her figures were drawn with the female shape although her family drawing depicts three males and one female.

In this family, power upon which leadership rests, is based upon the custom of seniority rule and masculinity. The father, as head of the family, exercises supreme power. The children, depending on their ordinal position, have various powers and corresponding responsibilities in a hierarchical order. This principle of seniority reinforces the principle of authority and obedience on rather well-defined lines. Hence younger family members are not only accustomed to cooperate but also to defer to the views and decisions of the older members. This explains the omission of the self-portrait. She does not consider herself as an important or integral part of the family. Nobody pays attention to what she says meaning that she cannot voice her opinion. She omitted the self-portrait

which shows her isolation in a group of unrelating people.

Her figures do not have hands but are depicted with very short arms. This is taken to reflect the family members' difficulty in reaching out into the world and towards others. The cut-off hands indicate that the child is troubled and feels inadequate. She regards her family members as unloving, rejective, and unsupportive.

It suggests the presence of some problems in environmental contact.

The first and the last figures show a poor integration of some parts of the body. Poor integration appears to indicate immaturity on the part of the child which may be the result of a developmental lag or due to serious emotional disturbance. Her figures are slanting and this is taken to suggest, in this case, that the child lacks secure footing.

It is striking that this child made the faces of the members of her family with three ears. The extreme emphasis on ears cannot, because of its repetition, be considered as accidental. It cannot be a representation of physical reality; it can only be an expression of psychological reality. The child seems to think: "Oh that my family has three ears, many enough to hear me!"

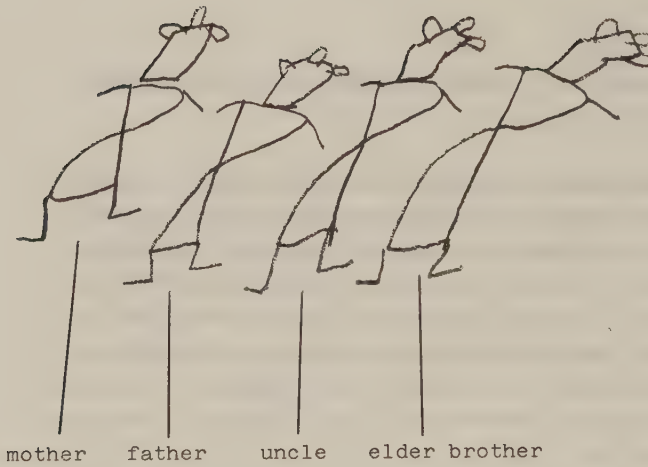


Figure 10: Family drawing by a girl aged 7

k) Case 11: Bulelwa, girl, aged 6

Bulelwa is the only child. Her mother is a nurse and the father is doing clerical work in Durban, 293 km away from Flagstaff. She stays with her mother and a housekeeper.

Figure 11 depicts Bulelwa's family drawing. She depicted her mother, a self-portrait, and her home.

The first feature which catches attention in her drawing is the omission of the father. The omission of the father symbolises the very minor role he plays in family life. He works in Durban and visits his family at least once a month. He is not considered by the child as an integral part of the family.

Her drawing shows a discrepancy in the depiction of the human figures and the home. She took care in depicting the details of the house, the television antennae, the television, the door, the windows, the roof, the steps as well as the road leading to the gate of the yard. She allocated more space to the drawing of the home than to the people. This symbolises a disturbance in interpersonal relationships. Her mother spends most of the time at the hospital where she is working and Bulelwa is taken care of by the housekeeper. The mother indulges her with material things to compensate for her rejection of her only daughter. It is also interesting that she depicted the hut, which is the kitchen, with smoke coming from the chimney. This is taken to indicate some inner turmoil on the part of the child. This child seems to be yearning for love which she is being deprived

of by both parents. She made the self-portrait too close to the figure of the mother. This can be taken as a wishdream from the child that she would get some love and affection from the mother, that the mother should spend more time at home with her, and that their relationship should be warmer. It is also interesting to note that the self-portrait is not drawn on the same level as the mother. This is taken to reflect the emotional separation between the two figures on the drawing.

Her responses to the following questions were as follows:

Q. Ulichitha nabani ixesha elininzi ekhaya?

(Who do you spend most of your time with at home?)

A. Noanti. (With aunt.)

(She is referring to the housekeeper.)

Q. Ungathanda ukuhlala nabani ixesha elininzi?

(Who would you like to spend most of your time with?)

A. Nomama. (With mum.)

The figures are both made with one arm thereby reflecting the difficulty in reaching out towards others showing that the child feels helpless and rejected. Her figures do not have noses and mouths and can therefore not relate and communicate with each other. This further symbolises the rejection the child is experiencing.

The heavy line pressure is one of the features which catch attention. This heavy line pressure might be taken to indicate a tendency toward emotional reactions. The erasures on the feet indicate that part of Bulelwa's conflict is related to the feet. This

might be taken to indicate that the mother should not go away so often, but should stay at home and not leave the child all the time at home to watch Television alone.



Figure 11: Family drawing by a girl aged 6

Case 12: Bongani, boy, aged 6

Bongani is the only child in his family. His mother is a housewife and his father is working as a labourer in Johannesburg, 788 km away from home.

Figure 12 depicts Bongani's family drawing. His drawing reveals the mother only. He omitted his father and the self-portrait. The omission of the father is taken to reflect his physical absence from home as he is working in Johannesburg. He visits his family at least once a year. His prolonged absence has reduced his participation in family life. The omission of the self-portrait, on the other hand, reflects the child's unconscious feelings of rejection. He does not consider himself as well as his father as important or integral parts of the family.

The big size of the drawing of the mother shows that she plays a very dominant role in the life of Bongani. The figure of the mother is centrally situated and at the top of the page. This is taken to reflect insecurity of the child coupled with emotional dependence. His drawing reveals some degree of anxiety. He shaded the neck, body, legs, feet, mouth, and one hand of the mother. The shading shows that the child suffers from anxiety and is emotionally disturbed. The manner of the depiction of the figure of the mother shows that he has ambivalent attitudes towards her. If he had only negative feelings towards the mother, he could have omitted her. At the same time, since he had already omitted the drawing of the father and that of himself, he was somehow forced to draw the mother.

His anxiety was obvious during the process of the making of the family drawing and from his responses during the interview. He spoke in a low voice and was very hesitant.

The varying differences in the size of the arms and the legs and the long neck depicted on the drawing of the mother show that the child is trying to control his conflicting attitudes towards the mother. Bongani's social history shows that he has reason for such an attitude towards his mother. She is a very inconsistent person who indulges her child one day, only to neglect him the next day. The mother is quite unpredictable and is, therefore, threatening for the child. He never knows what to expect from her. The unpredictability of the mother is clearly symbolised by the two arms which are not of the same length. The short arm symbolises the unloving, unsupportive, and rejecting mother. The depiction of the short arm gives the impression that the mother is withholding or hiding something which she does not want to give away. The longer arm reflects the mother who is reaching out towards the child, the loving and caring mother. From the interview with the mother, it was gathered that the mother is trying to play the double role of a loving mother and a disciplinarian. She is trying to make up for the absence of her husband and his inability to assume his responsibility in the upbringing of the child.

It is also interesting to note that, although he has shaded most of the figure, the face and arms are not shaded. He, thereby, shows that the nature of his emotional disturbance is not severe.

Thus, in interpreting this drawing with contradictory trends, the character of the home must be considered. Thus, there is the physically absent father, and a mother who, though competent in many ways, was described on the basis of the interview and home observations as inconsistent in her child-rearing practices.



mother

Figure 12: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

m) Case 13: Nikiwe, girl, aged 7

Nikiwe is the eighth child in a family with ten children. She has eight sisters aged 21, 19, 16, 13, 11, 9, 5, and the baby sister is 1 month old. Her only brother is 15 years old. The father is working as a labourer in Johannesburg, 788 km away from Flagstaff. The mother is a housewife and spends most of the time with her husband in Johannesburg. The eldest sister is responsible for the upbringing of the children. The mother visits her children at least once every four months and stays for two weeks. The father visits his family only once a year.

Figure 13 depicts Nikiwe's family drawing. The drawing shows her eldest sister, her mother, and her father. The mother is dishing food out of a pot for her father and the eldest sister.

A number of features catch attention immediately. First, the omission of the other siblings and the child herself is found interesting. At the time she made her family drawing, both parents were in Johannesburg. The depiction of the eldest sister together with the parents symbolises the mother-figure role she is playing in the family. She depicted on her drawing the family members who are playing dominant roles in the family composition. From the interview with the eldest sister, it was gathered that Nikiwe spent the first five years of her life with her parents in Johannesburg. Her drawing might, therefore, be taken to represent a wish dream of the child that she should stay with her parents again together with her eldest sister. The sequence in which the figures

were made, starting with the figure of the sister before those of the parents, discloses once again the close attachment between Nikiwe and her eldest sister. The big size of her figures which are also spread over the length of the page is taken to suggest that this child desires a large space. This is understandable considering the fact that she lives in a crowded home and, therefore, does not have the freedom of movement she needs. At the same time, the big size of the figures might be taken to symbolise the dominant role the figures depicted on the drawing play in the life of the child.

The treatment of the facial features is very detailed. In fact, she literally neglected the other body parts of all her figures. All her figures show a discrepancy between the high level of sophistication in her drawing of the head and the low quality of the body which is so great that the two parts might have been drawn by two different people. We see here clearly that the defective representation of the lower parts of the human figures is not an indication of a low understanding of reality, of an underdeveloped faculty of observation, or of a low intelligence. The drawing of the upper parts of the figures shows that the child knows how to draw a person. She seems to have conflicts related to the lower part of the body. Both her female figures show transparencies of the breasts and the navels. The large navel may stand for a baby inside the stomach. Her eldest sister was pregnant at the time Nikiwe made her family drawing and the mother had just given birth four weeks before to a baby girl. However, the mother was pregnant the last time Nikiwe saw her. These features are probably related to Nikiwe's feelings and concern regarding her mother and

the sister's pregnancy as well as the birth of her sister. The transparency of the sexual organs points to acute anxiety or fear in the areas of sex and childbirth. From the manner of the depiction of the figures on her drawing, one can infer that Nikiwe has got ambivalent attitudes towards her parents and her eldest sister.

The mother was drawn without a mouth but with enlarged ears. This is taken to symbolise the mother's inability or refusal to communicate with her since she cannot hear what she is saying. The enlarged ears of the mother might therefore reflect a wish by the child that she should listen to what she is saying and come home to stay with her children.

The spacing of the figures on the drawing also seems to need attention. The eldest sister is drawn a bit farther away from the parents who are drawn close to each other. The distance on the paper is here taken to indicate the distance between the family members in reality. The parents are closer to each other than to their first born child and are, therefore, depicted closer to each other.

Nikiwe made her drawing more towards the top of the paper, with a heavy line pressure. This indicates that she uses considerable energy and may tend towards strong emotional reactions.

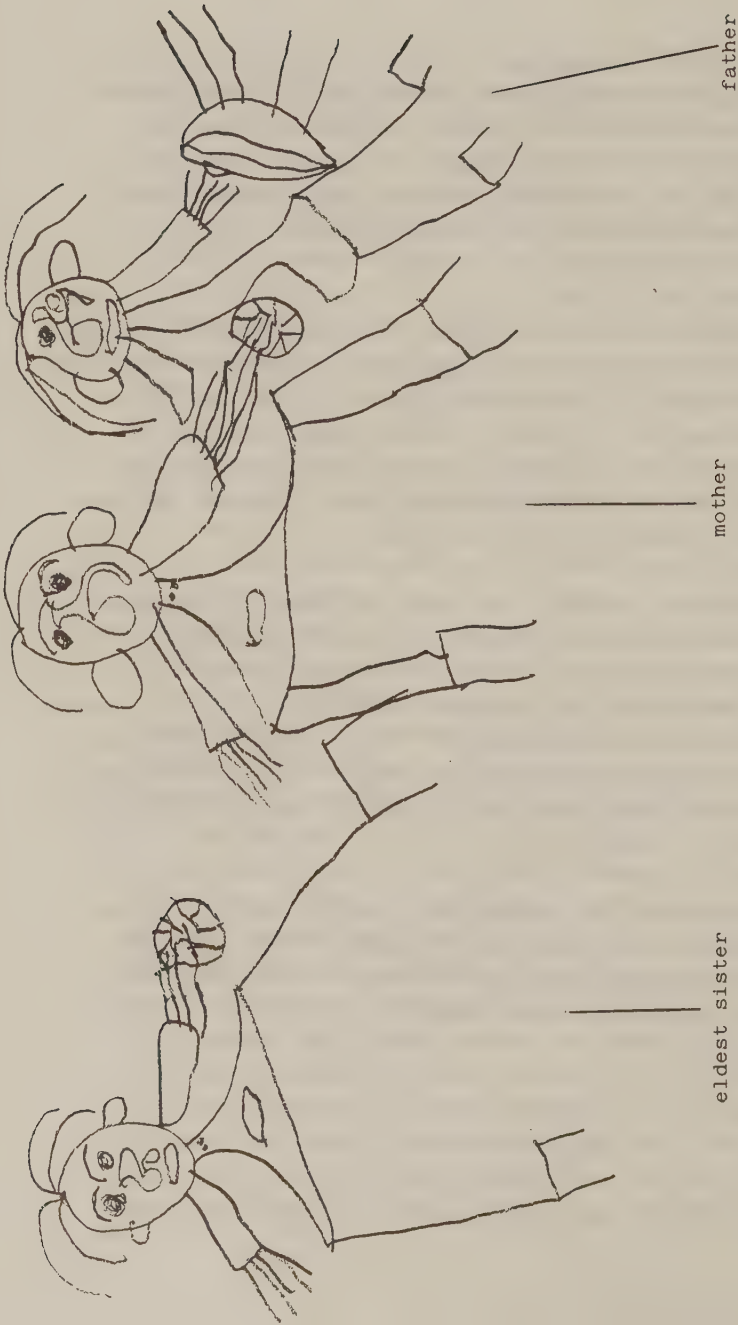


Figure 13: Family drawing by a girl aged 7

n) Case 14: Loyiso, boy, aged 5

Loyiso is the last born in a family with two children. His elder brother is 7 years old. The mother is a teacher and the father is doing clerical work in Durban, 293 km away from Flagstaff. Loyiso is not staying with both his parents, he is staying together with his brother and his maternal grandmother. Two other children of a maternal aunt, a girl aged 12 years and a boy aged 14, are also staying with the grandmother. His mother visits them over week-ends and the father comes home at least once a month. The school where the mother is teaching is 20 km away from home.

Figure 14 reveals Loyiso's family drawing. His drawing depicts his brother carrying wood to be used for cooking, the figure of the mother is followed by the picture of the cousin sister.

The first outstanding feature about his family drawing is the omission of the self-portrait, the father, the grandmother, and the cousin brother. The omission of the father is attributed to his prolonged absence from the family. The child does not consider him an integral part of the family. The omission of the self-portrait, on the other hand, is taken to symbolise unconscious feelings of rejection. From the interview with the grandmother, it was gathered that Loyiso and his brother had come to stay with her 2 months before the making of the family drawing. Loyiso and his brother had previously been staying with their mother together with the paternal grandparents. It seems, therefore, that Loyiso does not yet consider the maternal grandmother and the cousin brother

as members of his family. The cousin sister is depicted on the family drawing since she plays an important role in the caretaking of the children because the grandmother is already old and weak.

The spatial arrangement of his figures is quite striking. The brother is drawn on a level higher than the two other figures. It seems as if he is pushing the brother in the foreground while leaving the others in the background. The sequence and the spatial arrangement of the drawing is taken to suggest the strong attachment of Loyiso to his brother.

The figures have few details and show no differentiation between the female figures and the male figure. Of special interest is the omission of arms in all his figures. This symbolises once more his unconscious feelings of rejection. He seems to have ambivalent feelings towards the drawn figures. From his drawing, it can be inferred that he is not satisfied with the quality of involvement he is getting from his brother, his mother, and the cousin sister. He regards them as unsupportive, unloving, and rejecting. He would like them to show him more love and affection. The lack of variation in the depiction of his figures suggests that the child is emotionally flat. He has not yet adjusted to the separation from the mother and the paternal grandparents with whom he has been staying since birth.

His drawing is centrally situated, pointing to some degree of emotional dependence. His lines are thin, with a light pressure. Withdrawal or depression are among the factors which can lead to such light pressure. The thinness of his line discloses extreme in-

security and feeling of inadequacy.

Withdrawal and insecurity were observed during the process of making the drawing and the interview. Subsequent observations of the child during the home observations confirmed this observation.

In summary, it can be said that, owing to the absence of both parents, the elder brother is playing an important role in the life of Loyiso and has probably assumed the paternal role. This sort of background, characterised by both maternal and paternal deprivation, might have been the cause of the child's extreme insecurity and feeling of inadequacy.

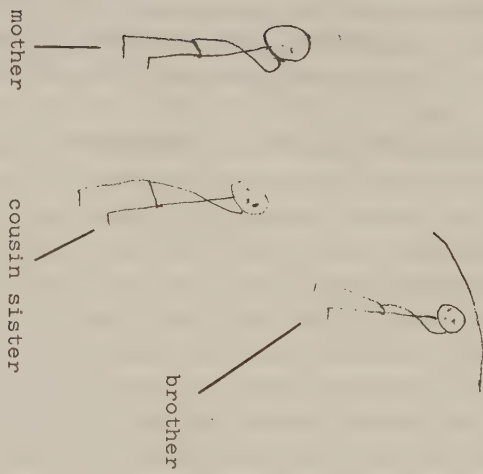


Figure 14: Family drawing by a boy aged 5

o) Case 15: Vuyo, boy, aged 5

Vuyo is the last born in a family with five children. The eldest sister is 15 years old followed by another sister, aged 13 years. Next come twin sisters, aged 7 years. The mother, a nurse by profession, owns, together with her husband, a number of commercial enterprises.

The father is not staying with his family, he is running a supermarket in Umtata, 170 km away from Flagstaff. He visits his family every week-end.

Figure 15 reveals Vuyo's family drawing. His drawing depicts his mother and the housekeeper.

The incomplete family drawing reveals Vuyo's attitude towards his family. He comes from a family of business-minded people who are mainly concerned about material things. The parents are too much involved in business to pay much attention to the children. The omission of the self-portrait reflects the child's unconscious feelings of insignificance and rejection. He does not consider himself as an important or integral part of the family. The omission of the father and the two elder sisters is taken to symbolise their absence from home. The two elder sisters are staying at a boarding school and they come home only during holidays. Vuyo is the only boy in a family with four girls. The two elder sisters spend most of their time together and the twins also play most of the time together making Vuyo feel like an outsider. He feels lonely and isolated in his family.

Both his figures have been depicted with one eye.

This feature is taken to indicate some psychological conflict. A figure depicted with one eye is usually indicative of a one-sided view of things. The depiction of one eye in Vuyo's drawings indicates that the drawn figures are giving him partial attention. They have got one eye for him and the other eye for something else. The mother has got an eye for her business and the housekeeper has got an eye for the household duties.

The housekeeper is assuming the maternal role to the child. The mother replied as follows to this question:

Q. Ngubani ochitha ixesha elininzi noVuyo?

(Who spends the most time with Vuyo?)

A. Nontembiso (name of the housekeeper). Selefana nomama ebantwaneni bam, bakhuliswa nguye. Ngunyaka weshumi esebenza apha ekhaya.

(She is like a mother to my children, they are brought up by her. She has already been working for ten years here at home.)

He placed his drawing on the top left hand side; it is compressed to a small area thereby showing his insecurity and his tendency to withdraw from the environment. The smallness of his figures discloses once again extreme insecurity and feeling of inadequacy. The pressure on both figures is light and the lines fairly thin, also revealing some shakiness. However, the pressure on the second figure is heavier than on the first one. These line quality features are associated here with emotional conflict. The shakiness of the line is further associated with anxiety.

This anxiety was observed during the process of drawing

the family and during the interview. He replied to the questions in a very hesitant manner and in a low voice.

The omission of the mouths on his figures reflects the inability or refusal of the depicted figures to communicate with him. They are too involved in their duties to attend to him. At the time Vuyo made his family drawing, his mother had just opened a cafe in addition to the shop and the funeral undertaker's she has owned for a long time. She was spending most of her time at the cafe and less and less time with her children.

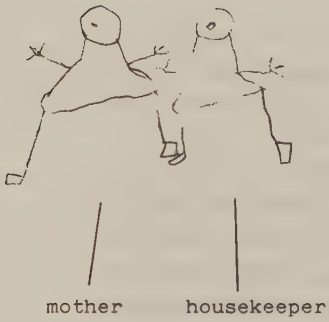


Figure 15: Family drawing by a boy aged 5

p) Case 16: Celiwe, girl, aged 6

Celiwe is the second born in a family with three children. Her elder sister is 8 years old and the younger brother is 4 years old. Celiwe's mother is a nurse and the father is a teacher at a neighbouring school.

Figure 16 depicts Celiwe's family drawing. She depicted her elder sister, her brother, and a self-portrait.

From the incomplete family drawing, it can be inferred that Celiwe has negative attitudes towards her parents whom she omitted from the family drawing. Celiwe lives in the same house with her parents. But she does not live in a warm, close-knit family unit. Celiwe's father is very strict and authoritarian. The father was reported by the mother as "punitive" and he "doesn't laugh with the children". He rules over his family with little regard for individual differences. The mother, on the other hand, spends most of her time at the hospital where she is working. The children are taken care of by a housekeeper, who is herself under stress to do justice to the duty of bringing up the children. It was further observed that, when the mother is at home, she does not take care of the children. There is very little interaction between her and her children.

Her figures show very detailed facial features. Celiwe shows very positive feelings towards her siblings. The emphasis she put on the depiction of the facial features further shows concern over interpersonal relationships.

The spacing on the page is one of the outstanding features of the child's drawing. Her drawing shows an inclination towards the top of the paper and occupies a very restricted part of the paper considering that she has depicted her home as well. The depiction of her home stands for the protection of the children rejected by the parents. It can, therefore, be inferred that Celiwe tends to feel a strong need to cling to some place or someone to gain security.

The smallness of her figures discloses extreme insecurity and Celiwe's feeling of inadequacy. The heavy line pressure indicates that she uses considerable energy and may tend towards strong emotional reactions.

The arms of her figures are long reflecting striving for love and affection. Long arms are associated with a reaching out towards others. The children are striving for the love of the parents. It appears that the long arms together with the clenched fists can be associated with an aggressive reaching out into the environment.

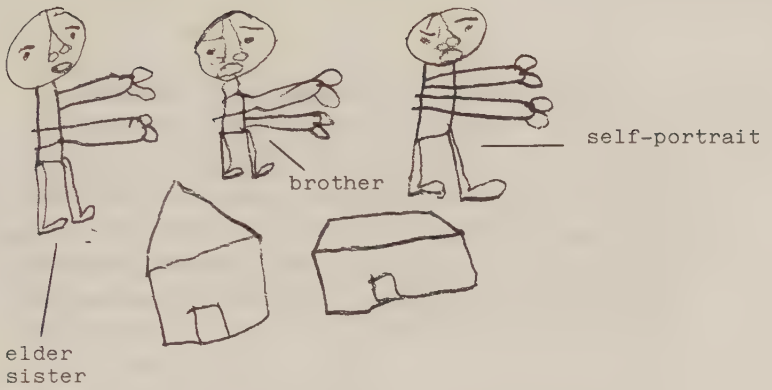


Figure 16: Family drawing by a girl aged 6

q) Case 17: Fezeka, girl, aged 5

Fezeka is the last born in a family with three children. Her two elder brothers are aged 10 and 8 years. Her father is a medical practitioner and the mother, a nurse by profession, is working at her husband's surgery.

Figure 17 depicts Fezeka's family drawing. Her family drawing depicts the mother carrying a baby who is a patient at the surgery, a self-portrait, her eldest brother, her younger brother, and a patient going to the surgery. In addition to the figures, Fezeka drew pictures of the house, the garage, and the father's surgery. The father is said to be in the surgery.

Her family drawing shows that the family is considered a complete unit protected by the house. Her drawing is complete; that is, no one is omitted and Fezeka clearly reflects her feeling of belonging to her family group. Fezeka's home background shows that there is much interaction and emotional involvement between the members of her family. Her mother, an imaginative and warm woman, devotes much of her time and energy to her three children. Fezeka, who has never been separated from her family, was about to be taken to a multiracial boarding school at the time she made her family drawing, so that she can get a reasonable standard of education which is not offered in the neighbouring schools. There could be no doubt about the parents' real interest and affection for their children, even though they had decided to send them to a private boarding school. Fezeka resented this bitterly.

The placement and size of her figures reveal her helplessness. Her figures are small disclosing her extreme insecurity and feeling of inadequacy. It may also be significant that she drew herself so much smaller than the other children. By drawing herself so tiny, she seems to express her desire to remain small and dependent in the secure circle of her family. She drew herself inside the living room which reveals her strong need for support and protection from the family.

Her drawing is made on the upper part of the paper with an inclination towards the left side of the page. The spacing on the page indicates a tendency to feel a strong need to cling to some place or someone to gain security. Fezeka shows a strong need to cling to her home. Her strong attachment to her home is reflected by the details in the depiction of the house, with steps, furniture, doors, windows, and roof.

The position and size of the mother shows that she has positive feelings towards her mother. The mother was depicted first, on the top part of the family drawing, and her figure is the biggest on the drawing. It may be significant that Fezeka drew her father invisible inside the house although she drew herself visible inside the house as well. Her attitude towards her father was both positive and negative to a strong degree: if she had felt only hostility towards the father, she would have omitted him, most likely, altogether from the drawing. One can infer that she has strong ambivalent feelings towards the father.

The manner of presentation of the figures is typical of her age-group. She has differentiated between her

family members and the patients. The patients are depicted without legs and arms which the family members all have. The amputation of the patients might be taken to symbolise their illness. From her family drawing, it can be deduced that, before the parents had decided to send the children to a boarding school, the social environment of Fezeka was warm and unproblematic.

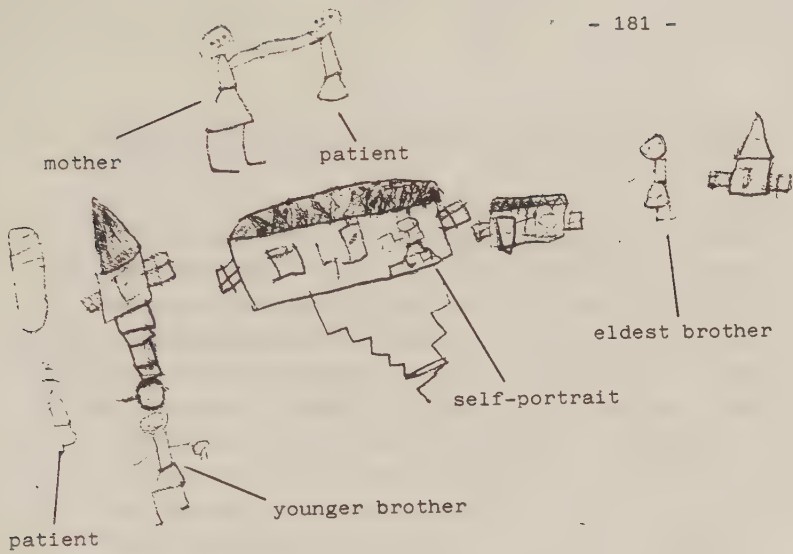


Figure 17: Family drawing by a girl aged 5

r) Case 18: Sikho, boy, aged 7

Sikho is the seventh born in a family of 8 children with 6 girls and 2 boys. The sisters are aged 30, 26, 24, 20, 16, and 6 years. His only brother is aged 11 years. His mother is a labourer at a neighbouring farm. His father is working in Johannesburg, 788 km away from home. He visited his family the last time 3 years ago and has, therefore, deserted his family.

Figure 18 depicts Sikho's family drawing. The mother is depicted first carrying a bucket of water on her head and a pail on her hand full of water as she had gone to fetch water from the river. The second figure is that of his eldest sister depicted visiting her family from Durban where she works carrying a cupboard full of presents and a purse in her hand.

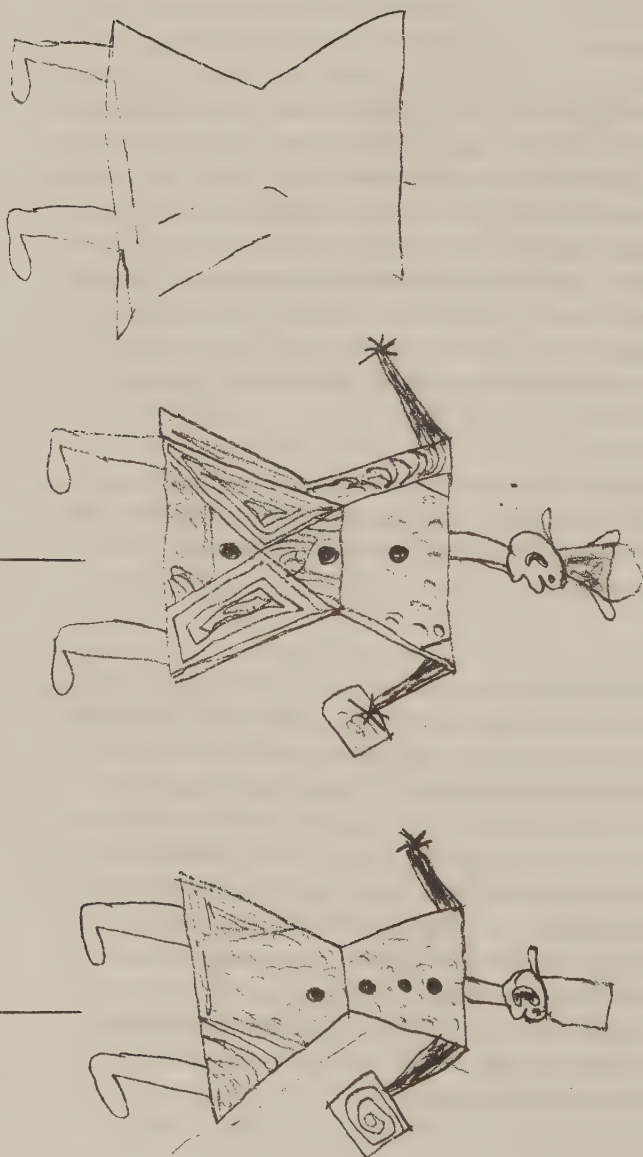
Sikho depicted on his family drawing only those family members who play dominant roles in the family and omitted all those who play less important roles. The prolonged absence of the father from home as well as the absence of the four elder sisters, with the exception of the eldest sister, who are also not staying at home as they are working in Durban has reduced their share in family life. They are no longer considered by the child as important or integral parts of the family. Since no negative attitudes were observed between him and his siblings who are still staying at home, it can be deduced that the omission of the other siblings and the self-portrait lies in the fact that children as such do not play important roles in their family.

The big size of his figures, especially that of the mother, shows the dominant roles these two figures play in his life. The mother is a very loving woman who is very fond of her children. She is trying hard to make her children happy and forget about the father who deserted them. From the interview with the mother, it was gathered that the eldest sister is the one who takes the greatest share in supporting the family financially, taking the place of the father. He has symbolised this by depicting the eldest sister carrying presents and a purse which can be associated with the possession of money while the mother is depicted carrying water.

He paid attention to the details of his figures, especially the details of the dresses of the two figures, thereby showing his emotional involvement with the depicted figures.

His drawing is typical of his age-group, with the faces of his figures depicted in profile. His drawing, nevertheless, shows a heavy line pressure. The heavy line pressure indicates that he uses considerable energy and may tend towards strong emotional reactions. His drawing shows a lot of erasures in both the depiction of the mother and the sister. The erasures are taken to symbolise intense anxiety. He even discarded his first attempt at making the family drawing. It seems, therefore, that the child has some anxiety associated with the depicted figures. One can infer that the child is afraid of losing the two people who mean most to him and do the same thing his father did by deserting the family.

Figure 18: Family drawing by a boy aged 7



mother

eldest sister

s) Case 19: Sizwe, boy, aged 6

Sizwe is the last born in a family with three children. His two elder sisters are aged 10 and 8 years. The father is working in Johannesburg and the mother works as a labourer in a neighbouring forest and lives at home. The father visits his family once a year since his working place is 788 km away from home.

Figure 19 depicts Sizwe's family drawing. The drawing depicts three females coming from the river carrying water. He depicted his mother, his eldest sister followed by the other sister. His family drawing depicts a completely female setting.

The omission of the self-portrait and the figure of the father is the first feature that catches my attention. The physical absence of the father accounts for his omission from the family drawing. Sizwe does not consider him an integral part of the family. The omission of the self-portrait, on the other hand, is taken to reflect unconscious feelings of rejection.

Quite a number of features from his family drawing catch my attention. The manner of presentation of the figures is the most outstanding feature of this child's drawing which commands my attention first. His figures are faceless creatures. Without eyes, noses, or mouths, they are unable to communicate with each other. Sizwe presented his family as nameless, faceless creatures who were nobodies. Without faces, they do not have any identity. Sizwe reflected his own isolation within a group of unrelating people. The omission of facial features on the pictures of

the family seems to indicate a marked absence of feelings. It can be said that Sizwe is emotionally flat. It is interesting that he made his figures with necks extended up to the top of the head, thereby giving his figures an inhuman appearance.

His figures are shaded on the bodies. This type of shading is associated with anxiety, in particular body anxiety. The smallness of his figures points to insecurity and feelings of inadequacy. His figures are drawn on a very restricted area of the page reflecting a tendency to withdraw from the environment. His drawing is also centrally situated symbolising emotional dependence.

His anxiety was evident during the interview.

His figures are depicted with long arms symbolising his reaching out for the love and affection of the depicted family members. The pressure of the lines is heavy indicating that he uses considerable energy and may tend towards strong emotional reactions.

His figures are slanting slightly, something which suggests a general instability and lack of balance. Above all, this seems to suggest that Sizwe lacks secure footing.



Figure 19: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

t) Case 20: Zola, boy, aged 6

Zola is the last born in a family with 4 children. The eldest sister is 18 years old followed by two brothers, aged 15 and 12 years. The mother is a teacher and the father is a witchdoctor. He does not stay with his family and the mother and the children visit him during holidays.

Figure 20 depicts Zola's family drawing. His drawing depicts his mother and the 12 year old brother with whom he is staying at home. The mother is sitting on a chair and the brother is dishing food from a pot.

The most outstanding feature about this drawing is the omission of the self-portrait, the picture of the father, and those of the two elder children. The absence of the pictures of the father and the two siblings can be explained by their physical absence from home. The father is working at Port St. Johns, 79 km away from Flagstaff, and sees his family every six months. The two elder siblings are staying at a boarding school and come home only during holidays. They are playing negligible roles in the life of the child and are, therefore, omitted from the family drawing. The omission of the self-portrait indicates that the child does not consider himself an important or integral part of the family. It reflects his unconscious feeling of insignificance and rejection. This is understandable since he is the youngest in a family with older children.

The manner of depicting his figures is found inter-

esting. He has depicted his brother with eyes, which the figure of the mother does not have. The head of the brother is decidedly bigger than that of the mother, who has also been drawn with one arm, whereas the brother is depicted with two arms. We see here clearly that the defective representation of a human figure in the picture of the mother is not an indication of a low understanding of reality, an underdeveloped faculty of observation, or of a low intelligence. The drawing of the brother shows that the child knows how to draw a person. The defective representation in the picture of the mother seems to be intentional, expressing his ambivalent attitude towards her. The brother seems to play a special role. He had problems in depicting the figure of the mother as indicated by the erasures. The frequent erasures on the picture of the mother and its dirty appearance are taken to indicate anxiety. There are also differences in the line pressure used in the two figures, with heavier pressure on the figure of the mother. It seems, therefore, that Zola reflects his emotional conflicts through the use of heavy line pressure on the figure of the mother only. His drawing is centrally situated, thereby disclosing his emotional dependence. The fact that the brother is the one depicted carrying pots and the mother sitting down on a chair indicates some role reversal. It is the brother who is acting as the "mother-figure" for this child, and not the mother who is too much involved in her duties to pay much attention to him.

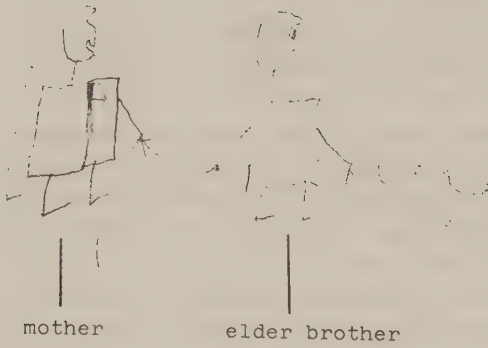


Figure 20: Family drawing by a boy aged 6

4.3. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The results of the present investigation show that a relationship exists between symbolic representation and the living conditions of the children. The present investigation has shown that a family portrait reveals the child's specific attitude towards each member of the family as well as his/her wishes and fears concerning them and is not a faithful reproduction of the child's actual family. The symbolic representation on the family drawings was found to be twofold; it may be an expression of a child's attitude and conflicts regarding his/her family, it may be a wish dream, or both. It was further found that children reveal on their family drawings their perception of their own roles within the family as well as the children's perception of the family situation.

Individual differences in the symbolization of the families point to several characteristics of families and to particular child-rearing practices as possible determinants of children's symbolic representations. The children used various signs and symbols to reflect their family situations. It was further observed that the same symbol when used by different children has different interpretations. This shows that children do not only use different symbols in their family drawings but that the same symbol could be used by different children to convey different meanings.

The family situation was expressed through content symbolism, spatial symbolism, and graphic symbolism. In particular, the family situation was expressed by relative size, placement of the figures on the

drawing, omissions and exaggerations of the figures or parts of them, and by the formal elements on the family drawing.

4.4. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings from the group analysis of the data obtained in this investigation have shown some common trends among the children in their graphic representations as well as some features occurring on drawings of a few isolated cases. On the basis of the data obtained from the case studies, the similarities as well as the differences among the children seem to be a function of several characteristics of the families as well as of particular child-rearing practices.

Before going on to a discussion of the observed relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions, family backgrounds and child-rearing practices in the families of the children will be discussed.

4.4.1. FAMILY BACKGROUND

The results of the present investigation point to several aspects of the family background of the children as playing significant roles in the symbolic representation of each family.

a) Families headed by mothers

The present investigation has shown that the majority of the families are headed by mothers. This is mainly due to the scarcity of job opportunities in the rural areas. As a result, the majority of fathers are away from home for prolonged periods leaving the wives and children behind. Fathers employed in the neighbouring towns could visit their families at least once a month whereas the majority of fathers are migrant labourers and could, therefore, visit their families at least once a year. Firstly, due to the low wages they are paid, it is financially impossible for them to visit their families frequently. Secondly, the majority of them get yearly contracts which do not make any provision for vacations during the course of the year.

b) Working mothers

The results of this investigation have shown that there is an increase in the number of working mothers. The vast majority of mothers are employed for economic reasons. Many are forced to work to augment the low wages of their husbands and others do not receive financial assistance from their husbands on a regular basis.

In the case of working mothers, it was observed that the majority of the mothers live at home with the children as against the minority of mothers living at the place of employment without the children.

c) Presence of both parents at home

The present investigation has shown that few children (20 %) live at home with both their parents on a regular basis.

The above-mentioned family situation undoubtedly affects the upbringing of the children. The effects of this situation have not only included harsh child-rearing methods but also decreased attention to child-rearing while at the same time affecting the family relationships.

4.4.2. CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

Although the mothers have always been mainly responsible for the upbringing of the children, the absence of the fathers means that the mothers are left with an overload of work since they have to assume responsibility for duties which were previously carried out by their husbands as well. The work load of the women leaves them very little time to spend with their children. The mothers are forced to assign duties to the children which, in some cases, they are not yet ready to carry out in order to reduce parent labour. The mothers were asked to give information on the chores performed by the children and the same information was asked for from the children. In the observations, the children were frequently observed performing duties. One of the most responsible jobs assigned to the children was the care of younger siblings. The common duties of the children included making tea, fetching water

from the river, collecting firewood, cleaning and sweeping, washing dishes, gardening, and looking after livestock and poultry.

Children of working mothers are brought up by relatives and most common, by grandmothers who are themselves too old to take care of the children properly. As is often the case, the grandparents have a number of children from other family members to take care of. Some children are brought up by housekeepers. Durojaiye (1976) considers the replacement of mothers by housekeepers to be an inadequate substitution since these housekeepers are themselves under stress, inadequately prepared for the task of mothering, and usually emotionally immature. Frequent changes of housekeepers mean rapid changes in the way children are handled.

The following major characteristics of the child-rearing practices of the families were observed:

1. Authoritarian rather than democratic behaviour norms
2. Emphasis on strict obedience of children rather than flexibility
3. Strict rather than lenient discipline of children; rigid control of behaviour of children was common

Obedience and strict discipline were found important in the upbringing of the children. Typical responses obtained from the parents' interviews to the following questions indicated this:

- Q. Zintoni ezikucaphukisayo xa zenziwe ngabantwana?
(What things could make you angry with your children?)

- A. Ukudelela, ukuxoka, ukuthuka, ukungenzi imisebenzi.
(Disobedience, telling lies, swearing, failure to do assigned chores.)
- Q. Xa umntwana enze enye yezizinto ozibalileyo, wenzantoni?
(When a child does one of the above, what do you do?)
- A. Ndinalo kaloku uswazi lwam yaye andilubandezi.
(I have got my cane and I do not spare it.)

4.4.3. FAMILY POWER STRUCTURE

The present investigation has shown that the rural African family may be characterised as one in which the father is the dominant figure and the mother assumes an inferior position. Patriarchal rather than equillitarian distribution of power was evident in all the cases where both parents were at home.

Another facet of the family power structure is that power is hierarchical. Power in the family is based upon the custom of seniority rule and masculinity. The father, as head of the family, exercises supreme power. The children, depending on their ordinal positions, have various powers and corresponding responsibilities in a hierarchical order. It is a fact that among siblings younger siblings cannot call elder siblings by their names. Instead, they have to use the prefixes "sisi" or "bhuti" (sister or brother) depending on the sex of the sibling before saying the name of the elder siblings. Younger siblings are expected to be obedient to elder siblings.

The least important position of the children in the family power structure is shown by the typical saying when there are no adults at home but only children: "Akukho mntu kukho abantwana bodwa." (There is nobody, there are only children.) As if children were not counted as human beings.

The principle of seniority reinforces the principle of authority and obedience on rather well-defined lines. Hence younger family members are not only unaccustomed to cooperate but also to defer to the views and decisions of older members.

The present investigation has further shown that, due to the increase in the number of families headed by women, mother dominance is emerging. This mother dominance was found to exist only during the period the husband was away; as soon as he comes back, the usual pattern of father dominance takes full force. It was interesting to note that in the absence of the fathers, the mothers placed less stress on absolute obedience of the children.

The results of the investigation have shown that children use different symbols in their graphic representations to represent their living conditions. The above-mentioned aspects of the living conditions of the children are considered to play important roles in the symbolic representation of a family.

4.4.4. SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The traditional rural African family was for a long time typified by an extended family structure. In

recent times, however, as a result of enormous social changes, the African family organization has altered tremendously. It appears that the families are getting smaller in size with an increase in the number of families headed by women. The present rural African family may be described as a "broken" family since in many instances the spouses do not stay together.

Thus, with this kind of change in the family structure children's family drawings are bound to be symbolic representations of their family backgrounds. The results of this investigation show that the majority of the children depicted a female setting in their family drawings as well as omitted some family members from the family drawings.

a) Female setting of the family drawing

In the drawings of many children the mothers were the largest, the prominently placed figures, the first figures depicted on the family drawings as well as the figures which were seldom omitted on the family drawings. Some children depicted in their drawings only female figures. In some cases children tended to draw a completely female setting with male figures also depicted showing the female shape. The female settings of the drawings may be accounted for by a number of phenomena.

Firstly, it seems justifiable to say that the women play important roles in the upbringing of the children. The upbringing of the children is, traditionally, the responsibility of women. A second possible expla-

nation is the heavy preponderance of females in the rural areas. Southall (1983) claims that the male-female relation in 1973 was 69, 75:100. In particular, the labour migration system has changed the structure and function of family and household life and continues to do so, in both rural and urban areas. It prevents the development of stable urban conditions and prevents the migrant worker from settling down with his family. The absence of the majority of the males from the rural areas has resulted in female-inclined living conditions of the children.

b) Omission of family members

Theoretical and empirical data abound showing that, in general, the omission of family members on a family drawing is highly significant and may be more revealing than their presence. Research evidence indicates that the omission of family members is attributed to negative attitudes (Appel, 1931; Hulse, 1951; Koppitz, 1968).

(I) Omission of the mother

The results of the investigation indicate that the omission of mothers on family drawings is rare. It seems that the absence of the mothers from home does not much affect their depiction on the family drawings. The figures of the mothers appeared on the family drawings of the children even in those cases where the mothers did not stay with the children. The omission of mothers on family drawings seems to be asso-

ciated with unsatisfactory maternal relationships.

(II) Omission of the father

The omission of the fathers was very common in this investigation. It would seem that the prolonged absence of the fathers from home leads to their omission in the family drawings. This finding suggests the minimal role they play in the upbringing of the children and in family life in general such that they are no longer considered by the children as integral parts of their families. The children, therefore, have depicted their quasi "fatherless" situation. The omission of the fathers suggests rather unsatisfactory paternal relationships.

(III) Omission of self-portraits

The findings of the present investigation show that the self-portraits are the most frequently omitted figures on the family drawings. The frequent omission of the self-portraits is attributed to the family power structure which is based on seniority and masculinity and the children as the younger members of the families occupy the lowest rank of the family power structure. The children, therefore, occupy the least important positions in the family composition. This explanation seems to be appropriate to the children in the sample since most of them were middle and last borns.

Another possible explanation of the omission of the self-portraits is the possible rejection experienced by the children due to the prolonged absence of the

fathers, and in some other instances that of the mothers as well. The omission of the self-portraits in the family drawings of this investigation is attributed to feelings of insignificance and rejection. This finding is in agreement with the observations made by Koppitz (1968): that the omission of self-portraits occurs most often on drawings of children who do not consider themselves important or integral parts of the families. She considers such an omission never as deliberate but rather as reflecting the child's unconscious feeling of insignificance and rejection. According to Koppitz (1968), a socially and emotionally well-adjusted child is usually quite pleased with him-/herself and has a healthy respect for him-/herself. She is of the opinion that a happy young child will draw him-/herself first and will place him-/herself in the centre of the family group.

c) Omission of body parts

The results of the investigation have shown that some body parts were often missing on the figure drawings. The omission of these items can neither be attributed to the age of the children nor to their unimportance to the children since they constitute the items, according to Goodenough (1926), Harris (1963), and Koppitz (1968), which the children include in their early attempts of human figure drawings.

(I) Omission of the mouth

Omission of the mouth was found very frequently in

the present investigation. The omission of the mouth was observed more often on drawings of children from father-dominant and/or authoritarian families where strict obedience was demanded of the children. All the children came from families where they were not allowed to voice their opinions. Since the mouth is a communication organ, its omission is taken to reflect the inability or refusal to communicate. This investigation supports the findings of Machover (1949) and Koppitz (1968): that the omission of the mouth reflects feelings of anxiety, insecurity, and withdrawal, including passive resistance.

(II) Omission of the eyes

Omission of the eyes appeared quite frequently in the present investigation. This finding is considered to be very peculiar since the omission of the eyes has been found to be a rare phenomenon in children of the ages included in this study in other investigations (Harris, 1963; Koppitz, 1968). The eyes are usually the very first details a child adds after the drawing of the head (Ames, 1954). Omission of eyes was found on the family drawings of children from authoritarian families. It was also common with insecure children and children from father-dominant families. The omission of eyes, therefore, seems to indicate that the child feels threatened by the adult world, especially by the parents. This finding concurs with the observation made by Hulse (1951): that the omission of eyes probably means an attempt to avoid facing a threatening environment.

(III) Omission of the nose

Omission of the nose was found quite frequently in this investigation. Psychoanalysis identifies the nose as a phallic symbol, and its omission on the figure drawings is interpreted by Machover (1949) and others as a sign of masturbation guilt or castration anxiety. The present investigation did not probe on the information about castration anxiety to either confirm or reject this hypothesis. In this investigation, the omission of the nose was common on drawings of children from authoritarian and/or father-dominant families. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that the absence of the nose indicates that the child feels to be pulled by the nose. By the omission of the nose, the children have symbolised their feelings of being "bossed around". There is an often cited Xhosa proverb which means to boss around: "Ukuthi nqo ngempumlo" (to pull by the nose).

(IV) Omission of a number of facial features

The present investigation has shown that some children do not only omit one or two facial items on the figure drawings but a number of facial items. Omission of the mouth, the eyes, and the nose was very common. Stone and Ansbacher (1965) related the omission of these communication organs to poor social interests. The omission of these facial features on the drawings probably indicates an attempt by the children to avoid facing a threatening environment. The omission of the facial features appears to be associated with any one or several of the following: father-dominance, authoritarian discipline, father-absence, and poor

interpersonal relationships.

(V) Omission of arms

The omission of arms was noted in some of the drawings in the present investigation. Machover (1949) is of the opinion that the omission of arms on a drawing reflects guilt over hostility or sexuality. Koppitz (1968) claims that the omission of arms on human figure drawings reflects anxiety and guilt over socially unacceptable behaviour involving the arms or hands. The omission of arms also seems to indicate that the drawn figures are regarded as rather inadequate persons (Hulse, 1952). In this investigation, the omission of the arms seems to be associated with feelings of helplessness. At the same time, it was observed that the family members depicted without arms were found unloving, rejecting, and unsupportive.

d) Sequence in the depiction of family members

The results of the present investigation have shown that the mother ranked first as the figure depicted first in many of the family drawings. Siblings were also depicted first by many children on the family drawings. The fact that the mothers and the siblings were depicted first on the family drawings may be accounted for in a number of ways.

Firstly, it seems reasonable to explain this phenomenon in terms of the influential position of the mothers in the upbringing of the children. They are

the ones who are responsible for the child-rearing. The children relate more with the mothers than with the fathers. It also seems justifiable to say that the children have positive feelings towards their mothers. With regard to the siblings, they were depicted first on the family drawings in those cases where they played important roles in the caretaking of the children. The depiction of the siblings at the beginning of the family drawings seems to be the result of the observation that children tend to spend more time with other children than with adults. The results of the investigation show that the sequence in the depiction of family members seems to be associated with family relationships. The children were asked in the interview with whom they shared most of their time at home. More often than not, the response to the question indicated that the children spent more time with siblings than with adult family members.

e) Lack of variation in the depiction of family members

The results of this investigation have shown cases of children which do not show any variation in the depiction of the family members. This feature seems to be associated with an absence of feelings towards family members. By not showing any variation in the depiction of the family members, the children did show neither positive nor negative feelings towards their family members. Lack of variation in the depiction of family members was common among children whose family members had very little interaction with each other. The lack of variation in the depiction

of family members seems to be associated with a family atmosphere which is authoritative, where children do not achieve any individuality. This feature was also common in father-dominant families which tend to employ harsh authority rather than give the children a free hand. The results of this investigation support Koppitz's (1968) observation that children who did not show any variation in the depiction of family members were emotionally flat and showed poor interpersonal relations.

f) Short arms

Some children depicted short arms in their drawings. In many instances the arms were passive and helplessly extended. Koppitz (1968) associates short arms with a difficulty in reaching out into the world and towards others. She claims that the short arms on figure drawings may be associated with a tendency to withdraw, to turn inward oneself, and to try to inhibit one's impulses. In this investigation, most of the children who drew short arms tended to come from families with unsupportive parents. The depiction, therefore, of passive, helplessly extended short arms may be taken as a feature of dependency.

g) Long arms

The results of the investigation have shown that a number of children depicted long arms on their human figure drawings. Hammer (1958) is of the opinion that

long arms on a drawing are associated with an aggressive reaching out into the environment. All the children who depicted long arms on their drawings had parents who were too busy with their own activities to give much attention to the children. It seems, therefore, that long arms can be associated with a reaching out towards others in contrast to the tendency to withdraw, which was revealed by short arms on the human figure drawings. At the same time, it was observed that long arms seem to reflect the striving for love and affection.

h) Line quality

Some children were found to use line quality to reveal their family situation. The forms of the line quality observed in the investigation were light pressure lines which in this investigation are associated with low energy, anxiety, and insecurity on the part of the children. Heavy line pressure was found to indicate that a child used considerable energy and may tend towards strong emotional reactions. A combination of light and heavy line pressure was also found to be common. Shakiness of lines was also observed. All these line quality features may be associated with emotional conflicts and, at times, a tendency to extreme emotional reactions.

i) Sizes of the figures

It was observed in the present investigation that

children used the size of figures to reveal their attitudes towards their family members. Some children used big heads and/or big bodies to reflect their positive feelings towards the family members depicted on the drawing. At the same time, big heads and/or big bodies revealed the family power structure with the dominant members of a family depicted with big heads and/or big bodies. Some children, on the other hand, made their figures small on the drawing, thereby disclosing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. It was also noted that other children made all the figures on their drawings rather big, thereby disclosing the dominant role played by the family members depicted on the drawing in their lives and also their preoccupation about these family members.

j) Placement of the figures on a drawing

In this investigation the children showed variations in the placement of their figures on the family drawings. The majority of the children showed a tendency to place their family drawings on the left side of the paper. The drawings were often placed more towards the top of the paper. All these features are associated with anxiety and feelings of inadequacy. A compression of the drawings to a small area of the paper was also observed. Most of the children showing this feature in their drawings had dominant fathers and others had unsatisfactory paternal relationships. Compression of a drawing to a small area of the paper is associated with children who find the world threatening and show a strong need to cling to some place or someone to gain security.

The findings of the investigation show that, in addition to the above-mentioned symbols which appeared on the drawings of the majority of the children, some symbols appeared on the drawings of some isolated cases. These symbols will be discussed below.

k) Shading

The use of shading techniques on human figure drawings is considered a manifestation of anxiety, and the degree of shading is thought to be related to the intensity of the anxiety within the child (Goldstein and Faterson, 1969). Two forms of shading were observed in the family drawings in this investigation. Shading of the whole body with the exception of the arms and the face was observed. This type of shading, though associated with anxiety, is regarded to depict a less severe disturbance.

Shading of the whole body, including the face, was also observed. Although the shading is heavy, the facial features are still visible. This type of shading reflects severe anxiety and a serious disturbance as compared to the first case (Goldstein and Faterson, 1969; Koppitz, 1968). The disturbance is, however, not totally beyond control since the child did not obliterate the facial features, a phenomenon which is associated with a serious disturbance by Koppitz (1968).

1) Figure slanting by 15° or more

Slanting figures on a drawing were found to be rare

on the family drawings in the present investigation. Cut off hands or the drawing of arms without hands and fingers was found to reflect feeling of inadequacy or guilt over failure to act correctly or over the inability to act at all (Machover, 1949). In the present investigation, cut off hands in the drawings are considered to suggest the presence of problems in environmental contact.

n) Omission of the body

The omission of the body was very rare in the present investigation. It is normal for four year old children to draw "Kopffüßler", that is, to draw figures without bodies that consist merely of a head from which arms and legs are protruding. The omission of the body is considered here to reflect immaturity due to a developmental lag or emotional disturbance.

o) Poor integration of parts of the figure

Poor integration of the parts of a figure appeared in a few drawings in the present investigation. According to Koppitz (1968), poor integration of body parts appears to be associated with any one or several of the following: instability, a poorly integrated personality, poor coordination, or impulsivity. In this investigation, poor integration of body parts seems to indicate immaturity on the part of the child which may be the result of a developmental lag or regression due to serious emotional disturbance.

p) Transparencies

Transparencies of sexual organs were rare in the present investigation. Transparencies of female figures showing the breasts and the navels were observed. This specific type of transparency is believed to indicate anxiety and concern about the particular part of the body revealed by the transparency (Koppitz, 1968). This view is supported by the findings of the present investigation: that the transparency of the sexual organs points to acute anxiety, conflict, or fear in the areas of sex and childbirth.

The anxiety of a child at getting a new sibling is too well known to be discussed here extensively. Every child fears that he/she may lose his/her position with the birth of another child. Freud demonstrated from experiences gained through psychoanalysis and from biographies and recollections of adults that children wish to throw a new baby out of the window through which they believe it has come.

q) Special signs

The term "special signs" as used in the present context refers to everything appearing on the family drawings other than the family members. Included in this designation in the present study are:
(1) houses, (2) furniture, and (3) household items.

Although the depiction of the above-mentioned signs on the family drawings might be taken to indicate

a high level of differentiation on the part of the child since house, furniture, and household items are part of the child's family environment, it was observed in the present investigation that the children used these signs to convey special meanings. These items were used mostly to reflect a child's conflicts, where the children symbolised their wishes, for example, that their parents should spend more time at home with them. On the other hand, the depiction of the home may represent a protective device, showing family members protected by the house.

The hypotheses of this investigation have been largely confirmed. It thus appears that living conditions are crucially related to symbolic representation. In particular, the emotional factors related to the home and the family situation as such are together crucially related to the symbolic representation of a family. Children project their unconscious conflicts definitely into their family drawings and give a great deal of insight into the family situation as it is experienced by the child.

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. SUMMARY OF THE INVESTIGATION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions of African children in South Africa. Owing to the differences in the living conditions of the urban and rural African children in South Africa, it was decided to limit this investigation to rural children.

In order to accomplish this objective, family drawings were collected from a sample of 20 rural children followed by case studies of each sample child in order to get an insight into their family environment so as to be in a position to interpret the drawings in a meaningful way and in accordance with the aim of the investigation.

The first area of focus was the collection and analysis of the family drawings made by the sample. A scoring system was compiled for the analysis of the family drawings. Both group and individual analyses of the data obtained from the family drawings were undertaken. The group analysis of the data was intended to elucidate significant features which may relate to and offer pointers to an explanation of the symbolic representation. The individual analysis of the data was, therefore, used for the interpretations of the family drawings. As a result, the data of the present study are best understood idiographically. The various symbols used in the representation of a family were analysed on the basis of the child's age, maturation,

emotional status, social and cultural background.

The second area of focus required the collection of data about the home environment of the children. Observations of social interaction - involving parents, siblings and caretakers, the physical home environment, and interviews with the parents - were undertaken in order to discover the hypothesized relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions. The principal concern in this area was to discover what parents and other socialising agents actually do in their interactions with each other and with the children which may be crucial for the symbolic representation of the family.

The results of the study have shown that a relationship exists between symbolic representation and living conditions of the rural African children in South Africa. In particular, it was observed that children's varying symbolic representations of their families were a function of family background, family power structure, and child-rearing practices. The symbols used by the children in their representations were identified and interpreted on the basis of the findings of this investigation.

5.2. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study show the impact of the maintenance system in South Africa on the family organisation in the rural areas. The symbolic representations of the children show that the conditions under which the children are brought up are, on the whole, appalling.

Paternal deprivation and, in some cases, maternal deprivation coupled with harsh child-rearing practices, exemplify the change that is taking place in the rural areas. The following conclusions were drawn from the results of this investigation:

- 1) The results of this investigation have shown that the Family Drawing Technique reveals a child's attitude towards his/her family and is not a faithful reproduction of the child's actual family.
- 2) Children of the ages included in this investigation make symbolic rather than realistic representations of their families.
- 3) The results of the investigation support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions.
- 4) The Family Drawing Technique gives the child an opportunity to symbolise his/her attitudes, conflicts, relationships towards other members of the family, and the perception of his/her own role within the family.
- 5) Children reveal feelings on the Family Drawing Technique which they could not or would not put into words.
- 6) The symbolic representation of a family is a function of the living conditions as well as that of the individual child as was shown by the different forms of symbolic representation applied by the children.

The present investigation has also brought to light some possible useful applications of the Family Drawing Technique as are set out below.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.3.1. RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE APPLICATION OF THE FAMILY DRAWING TECHNIQUE

The present investigation has shown the usefulness of the Family Drawing Technique in the work with children, especially those with emotional problems since most emotional problems of young children emanate from the home environment. This technique could, therefore, be applied to get an idea of a child's attitudes towards other members of his/her family and his/her perception of his/her own role within the family. The Family Drawing Technique can be used to elicit information on such matters as role in the family constellation, relationships with parental figures and siblings, and tensions within the home situation. Intrafamilial conflicts in different forms and to different degrees manifest themselves in family drawings.

This technique could be used to get an initial impression of a young child's emotional maturity. Because most children like to draw, this technique may also be used to gain a child's cooperation for more complex tasks to follow. The value of the Family Drawing Technique in the assessment of children, especially those with emotional problems, is that it also reveals

feelings which the children could not or would not put into words. Because the family drawings reflect both conscious and unconscious attitudes and concerns, the process of making the family drawing can be quite therapeutic. It enables the child to express anxieties and conflicts in a constructive, non-threatening way.

The usefulness of the Family Drawing Technique can be greatly enhanced when it is used in combination with the Modified Koppitz Human Figure Drawing Test, which was modified by the present writer for the use with Xhosa children (1982). The Modified Koppitz Human Figure Drawing Test was found to give a good indication of the cognitive abilities of Xhosa children. Together, these two techniques will give an indication of the mental and emotional maturity of a child.

5.3.2. RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING FUTURE RESEARCH

An attempt was made to get a heterogeneous sample as far as possible and one which is representative not only of the living conditions of children in Transkei's Mpondoland, but also of rural children in South Africa as a whole. For this reason, we can be certain that the results of this study could be generalised to other rural children in South Africa.

Owing to the differences in the living conditions of the children in the rural areas and those living in the urban areas, the present findings cannot be generalised to children domiciled in the urban areas

of South Africa. It would, therefore, seem justifiable to investigate in a future study the relationship between symbolic representation and living conditions of children in the urban areas of South Africa. This would then make a possible comparison of the present findings on an urban-rural dichotomy and would also give a complete picture of the living conditions of African children in South Africa as far as they can be represented visually.

It is further recommended to investigate in a future study the relationship between symbolic representation and African children's personality characteristics not covered in this study.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH THE SAMPLE CHILDREN

Name:

Sex:

Age:

1. Whom have you depicted on the drawing? Please answer according to the sequence in which the figures have been made.
2. Is there some kind of activity depicted on the drawing? If so, which activity and which members are involved in the activity?
3. Who do you stay at home with? Please list all of them.
4. Whom do you like most at home and why?
5. Who likes you most at home?
6. Who do you spend most of your time with at home?
7. What do you do when you are together?
8. Who would you like to spend most of your time with?
9. Who do you share sleeping quarters with?
10. Can you please tell me what you do at home on a weekday, Saturday and a Sunday from morning till the time you go to bed. Please try to remember everything.

APPENDIX B

I. BEHAVIOUR CATEGORIES USED FOR THE OBSERVATIONS

a) PEOPLE PRESENT

All the persons present in the home are recorded.
Role designations are used, e.g. mother, father, grand-mother, uncle, brother, sister etc.

b) CHILD INTERACTIONS

Observations are directed here to the persons with whom the child is interacting. Whether the child is engaged in an activity alone, with an adult, with a young child, a baby, an older child, or a group of children. For each child interaction, the relationship of the child to the person with whom the child is interacting is recorded. The interactions were recorded as follows:

MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTION

Location

Time

Interactional context

Active involvement - like playing, talking

Indirect involvement - like supervising the child

OTHER/ CHILD INTERACTIONS

These were recorded in exactly the same way as the mother-child interactions.

APPENDIX B (cont)

c) OTHER/ADULT INTERACTIONS

These were recorded in exactly the same manner as the child interactions.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS

The activities of the family members were recorded in the following manner:

People involved in the same activity were noted and the type of activity was noted as well.

This variable also covers those moments when the members are not interacting with each other but are involved in activities alone. The type of the activity involved as well as the duration of the activity was indicated.

APPENDIX 2

HOME - ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATIONS

The following were used to describe the home environment of the children:

1. Type of house

2. Condition of the housing

3. Amount of space available for the family

4. Furniture

5. Water supply available in the home

6. Play materials available for children

7. Attitude of parents

APPENDIX D

THE PARENTS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Child's name

Parent's name

1. Is (N) an only child?
If not, please list all your children in their chronological order, giving names, ages, sex, and present school standard where applicable.
2. Are all your children staying at home?
If not, give names of children not staying at home, place of stay, duration of the absence, and reason for leaving home.
3. Are there any children other than your own living in the household? If yes, give names, ages, sex, relation, duration of the stay, and school standard where applicable.
4. Are there any adults other than you and your husband living in the household? If yes, give relation, duration of stay, and employment where applicable.
5. What school standard did you pass?
6. What school standard did your husband pass?
7. Did you do any post-school training?
If yes, which one?
8. Did your husband do any post-school training?
If yes, which one?

9. Are you or your husband taking any study courses?
If yes, who and what type of study course?
10. What is your occupation?
11. What is the occupation of your husband?
12. Who maintains the family?
13. Do you work at present outside your home?
14. Did you work when (N) was a pre-schooler?
If yes, give type of work, the number of working hours a day, and the type of person who cared for (N).
15. Is your husband presently employed?
If yes, where is he working and as what is he employed?
16. How often does he come home?
17. When are you and your child usually together?
18. When is (N) usually together with the father?
19. When you are not at home, who looks after the child?
20. Who spends the most time with the child?
21. Who does the child prefer to be with?
22. What do you do when you are together?

23. What do you consider most important in bringing up your child?
24. What things could make you angry with your children?
25. When a child does one of the above, what do you do?
26. What things could make you happy with your children?
27. What do you do to show a child that you are pleased?
28. Who is stricter with the children?
29. Who is easier with the children?
30. Do you have chores for your children?
31. Do you have separate chores for boys and girls?
32. What are (N's) chores?
33. Can you describe (N's) use of his/her free time - ways of playing?
34. Are there any games that you play together with (N)? If so, list a few.
35. What things do your children use for playing?
36. Does anyone in the household ever relate folktales/stories to (N)? If yes, who does it, how

often and what types of folktales/stories?

37. Does anyone in the household ever read to the child? If so, who does it and how often?
38. If you were given money to buy things for your child, what would you buy? List a few things in their order of priority.
39. What minimum level of education would you like your child to complete?
40. What would you like your child to do after finishing school?
41. Before (N) started going to school, what did he/she used to do at home?
42. Were you ever separated from your child for a long period? If yes, when, for how long, and what was the cause of the separation?
43. Has (N) had any serious illnesses or accidents? If yes, please give details of the nature of the illnesses, their duration and the child's age at the time.

N refers to each sample child

APPENDIX E

SCORING SHEET FOR SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION DEPICTED
ON A FAMILY DRAWING TEST

I. ANALYSIS OF THE FAMILY DRAWING AS A WHOLE

a. Content of the drawing

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

b. Spatial arrangement of the drawing

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

c. Relative size of the figures

.....
.....

.....
.....
.....

II. ANALYSIS OF EACH FIGURE DEPICTED ON A DRAWING

a. Structure of each figure

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

b. Integration of body parts

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

c. Character and texture of strokes

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

d. Shading

.....
.....

.....
.....
.....

e. Proportions

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

f. Transparencies

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

g. Identity and sex differentiation

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

h. Details

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

i. Manner of representation of the figures on a drawing

.....

j. Items depicted on a figure drawing

.....

k. Presence of selected body parts

Head.....
 Eyes.....
 Nose.....
 Mouth.....
 Ears.....
 Legs.....
 Body.....
 Arms.....
 Hands.....
 Feet.....

l. Special features on a drawing

.....

APPENDIX F

EXPECTED AND EXCEPTIONAL ITEMS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF GIRLS AGED 5 TO 7 YEARS

5 years		6 years		7 years	
EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL	EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL	EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL
Head	Feet 2-dimensional	Head	Nostrils	Head	Elbow
Eyes	Nostrils	Eyes	Two lips	Eyes	Profile
Nose	Two lips	Nose	Elbow	Nose	Two lips
Mouth	Elbow	Mouth	Profile	Mouth	Knee
Body	Profile	Body	Arms at shoulders	Body	
Legs	Arms at shoulders	Legs	Knee	Legs	
Arms	Knee	Arms		Arms	
		Feet		Feet	
				Arms, 2-dimensional	
				Legs, 2-dimensional	

APPENDIX F

EXPECTED AND EXCEPTIONAL ITEMS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF BOYS AGED 5 TO 7 YEARS

5 years		6 years		7 years	
EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL	EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL	EXPECTED	EXCEPTIONAL
Head	Pupils	Head	Arms at shoulders	Head	Profile
Eyes	Feet, 2-dimensional	Eyes	Nostrils	Eyes	Nostrils
Nose	5 Fingers	Nose	Profile	Nose	Elbow
Mouth	Arms at shoulders	Mouth	Elbow	Mouth	Two lips
Body	Nostrils	Body	Two lips	Body	Knee
Legs	Profile	Legs	Knee	Legs	
	Elbow	Arms		Arms	
	Two lips			Feet	
	Knee			Arms, 2-dimensional	

APPENDIX G

INTERPRETATION OF INDIVIDUAL HFD SCORES (KOPPITZ, 1968)

HFD SCORE	LEVEL OF MENTAL ABILITY
8 or 7	High Average to Superior (IQ 110 upward)
6	Average to Superior (IQ 90 - 135)
5	Average to High Average (IQ 85 - 120)
4	Low Average to Average (IQ 80 - 110)
3	Low Average (IQ 70 - 90)
2	Borderline (IQ 60 - 80)
1 or 0	Mentally Retarded or functioning on a retarded level due to serious emotional problems (IQ less than 70)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alschuler, R. and Hattwick. L. 1947. Painting and Personality: A Study of Young children. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ames, L. 1954. Free drawing and completion drawing: a comparative study of pre-school children. Journal of Genetic Psychology, vol. 66: 161 - 165.
- Anastasi, A. and Foley, J. 1936. An analysis of spontaneous drawings by children in different cultures. Journal of Applied Psychology, vol. 20: 689 - 726.
- Appel, K. 1931. Drawings by children as aids in personality studies. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 1: 129 - 144.
- Arnheim, R. 1954. Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Arnheim, R. 1967. Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye. London: Faber and Faber.
- Arnheim, R. 1970. Visual Thinking. London: Faber and Faber.
- Avé-Lallemant, U. 1976. Baum-Tests. Freiburg: Walter Verlag.
- Ballard, P. 1912. What London children like to draw. Journal of Experimental Pediatrics, vol. 1: 185 - 197

- Baynes, H. 1939. *Mythology of the soul. A research into the unconscious from schizophrenic dreams and drawings.* London: Balliere, Tindal and Cox.
- Becker, W. 1964. Consequences of different kinds of parental discipline. In Hoffman, M. & Hoffman, L. eds., *Review of Child Development Research.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bell, J. 1948. *Projective Techniques.* New York: Longmans.
- Bender, L. 1940. The drawing of a man in chronic encephalitis in children. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders*, vol. 41: 277 - 286.
- Berrien, F. 1935. A study of the drawings of abnormal children. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 26: 143 - 150.
- Biller, H. 1974. *Paternal Deprivation. Family, school, sexuality, and society.* Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Biller, H. and Meredith, D. 1976. *Father Power.* New York: Mckay.
- Black Sash (The). 1982. *You and the new Pass Laws.* Johannesburg.
- Bradley, R., Caldwell, B. and Elardo, R. 1977. Home environment, social status and mental test performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 69: 697 - 701.

- Brem-Gräser, L. 1980. Familie in Tieren: Die Familiensituation im Spiegel der Kinderzeichnungen. München: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. 1958. Socialization and social class through time and space. In Macobby, E. et al. eds., Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt.
- Bruner, J. 1968. Towards a theory of instruction. New York: Norton.
- Buck, J. 1948. The H-T-P technique. A qualitative and quantitative scoring manual. Journal of Clinical Psychology, vol. 4: 317 - 396.
- Burt, C. 1921. Mental and Scholastic Tests. London: King and son.
- Burt, C. 1962. Mental and Scholastic Tests. London: Staples Press.
- Butterworth, G. 1977. The Child's Representation of the World. New York: Plenum Press.
- Cameron, N. 1938. Individual and social factors in the development of graphic symbolization. Journal of Psychology, vol. 5: 165 - 184.
- Clarke-Stewart, A. 1977. Child care in the family. A review of research and some propositions for policy. New York: Academic Press.
- Deutsch, C. 1973. Social class and child development. In Caldwell, B. and Ricciuti, H. eds., Review

- of the child development research, vol. 3,
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Di Leo, J. 1970. Young children and their drawings.
New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Di Leo, J. 1973. Children's drawings as diagnostic
aids. New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Durojaiye, M. 1976. A new introduction to educational
psychology. London: Evans Brothers Ltd.
- Elkisch, P. 1945. Children's drawings in a projective
technique. Psychology Monographs, vol. 58, No.
1: 1 - 31.
- Elkisch, P. 1947. The emotional significance of child-
ren's art work. Childhood Education, vol. 23:
236 - 241.
- Eng, H. 1931. The Psychology of children's Drawings.
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eng, H. 1957. The Psychology of Child and Youth Draw-
ings. New York: Humanities Press.
- Forman, G. 1982. Action and thought. From sensorimo-
tor schemes to symbolic operations. New York:
Academic Press.
- Freeman, N. 1980. Strategies of representation in
young children: analysis of spatial skills and
drawing processes. London: Academic Press.

- Freud, S. 1935. A general introduction to Psychoanalysis. New York: Leveright.
- Friedrichs, J. 1973. Methoden empirischer Sozialforschung. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Gardner, H. 1980. Artful Scribbles. The Significance of Drawings. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Gilbert, J. 1980. Interpreting Psychological Test Data. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- Goldstein, H. and Faterson, H. 1969. Shading as an index of anxiety in figure drawings. Journal of Projective Techniques in Personality Assessment, vol. 33: 454 - 456.
- Golomb, C. 1974. Young Children's Sculpture and Drawing: A Study in Representational Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gombrich, E. 1962. Art and Illusion. London: Phaidon Press.
- Goodenough, F. 1926. Measurement of intelligence by drawings. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.
- Goodenough, F. 1931. Children's drawings. In Murchison, C. ed., A Handbook of Child Psychology. Worcester: Clark University Press.
- Goodnow, J. 1977. Children's Drawings. London: Open Books.

- Graewe, H. 1932. Untersuchung der Entwicklung des Zeichnens. Halle: Schroedel.
- Griffiths, R. 1970. A study of imagination in early childhood and its function in mental development. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Hammer, E. 1958. The clinical application of projective drawings. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Hammond-Tooke, W. 1974. The Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Handler, L. and Reyher, J. 1964. Figure drawing anxiety indexes. A review of literature. Journal of Projective Techniques in Personality Assessment, vol. 29: 305 - 313.
- Hare, A. and Hare, R. 1956. The draw-a-group test. Journal of Genetic Psychology, vol. 89: 51 - 59.
- Harms, E. 1941. Child art as aid in the diagnosis of juvenile neurosis. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 11: 191 - 209.
- Harrington, C. and Whiting, J. 1972. Socialization process and personality. In Hsu, F. ed., Psychological Anthropology. Cambridge: Schenkman.
- Harris, D. 1963. Children's Drawings as Measures of Intellectual Maturity. New York. Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.

- Henderson, R. ed. 1981. Parent-child interaction. Theory, research prospects. New York: Academic Press.
- Hess, R. 1970. Social class and ethnic influences on socialization. In Mussen, P. ed., Carmichael's manual of Child Psychology, vol. 2, New York: Wiley.
- Hildreth, G. 1941. The child mind in evolution. A study of developmental sequence in drawing. New York: King's Crown Press.
- Homans, P. 1969. Jung in context: Modernity and the making of a Psychology. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Horrell, M. 1978. Laws affecting race relations in South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Houghton, H. 1976. The South African Economy. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hulse, W. 1951. The emotionally disturbed child draws his family. Quarterly Journal of Child Behaviour, vol. 3: 152 - 174.
- Hulse, W. 1952. Childhood conflict expressed through family drawings. Journal of Projective Techniques, vol. 16: 66 - 79.
- Hurlock, E. 1959. Developmental Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book co.

- Jolles, I. 1952. A catalogue for the qualitative interpretation of the H-T-P. Beverley Hills: Western Psychological Services.
- Jung, C. 1950. Gestaltungen des Unbewußten. Zürich: Rascher und Cie.
- Kagan, J. 1971. Understanding children's behavior, motives and thought. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich.
- Kellog, R. 1969. Analysing Children's Art. Palo Alto: National Press Books.
- Kerschensteiner, D. 1905. Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung. München: Gerber.
- Kirby, A. 1976. South Africa's Bantustans. What Independence for the Transkei? Geneva: World Council of Churches.
- Koppitz, E. 1968. Psychological Evaluation of Children's Human Figure Drawings. New York: Grune and Stratton.
- Kröttsch, W. 1917. Rhythmus und Form in der Freien Kinderzeichnung. Leipzig: Haase.
- Lamb, M. 1976. The role of the father in child development. New York: Wiley.
- Lamla, M. 1985. Liberated women: An explanation and exposition of a local Mpondo problem. South African Journal of Ethnology, vol. 8, No. 1: 20 - 24.

- Langer, S. 1949. Philosophy in a new key. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Langer, S. 1953. Feeling and form. A theory of art developed from Philosophy in a new key. New York: Scribner.
- Laosa, L. and Sigel, T. 1982. Families as learning environments for children. New York: Plenum Press.
- Lark-Harrowitz, B., Lewis, H. and Luca, M. 1967. Understanding children's Art for better teaching. Columbus: Charles Merrill Books, Inc.
- Laurence, P. 1976. The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Lawton, M. and Seechrest, L. 1962. Figure drawings by young boys from father-present and father-absent homes. Journal of Clinical Psychology, vol. 18: 304 - 305.
- Leeuwenberg, J. 1976. Transkei. A study of Economic Regression. London: Africa Bureau.
- Levy, S. 1950. Figure drawing as a projective test. In Abt, L. and Bellak, L. eds., Projective Psychology. New York: Knopf.
- Lewering, A. 1928. Sex Differences in Ability Tests in Art. Journal of Educational Psychology, vol. 19: 95 - 99.

- Liss, E. 1938. The graphic arts. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 8: 95 - 99.
- Löwenfeld, V. and Brittain, W. 1975. Creative and mental growth. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan.
- Lukens, H. 1897. A study of children's drawings in early years. Pedagogical Seminary, vol. 4: 79 - 109.
- Luquet, G. 1913. Les dessins d'un enfant. Paris: Alcan.
- Luquet, G. 1927. De dessin enfantin. Paris: Alcan.
- Machover, K. 1949. Personality Projection in the drawing of the human figure. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.
- Maitland, L. 1895. What children draw to please themselves. Inland Educator, 1 - 87.
- Malan, T. and Hattingh, P. 1976. Black Homelands in South Africa. Pretoria: African Institute of South Africa.
- Maree, J. and de Vos, P. 1975. Underemployment, Poverty and Migrant labour in the Transkei and Ciskei. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Margolin, E. 1974. Sociocultural Elements in Early Childhood Education. New York: Macmillan.

- Marjoribanks, K. 1979. Families and their learning environments: An empirical analysis. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Marsella, A., Dubanoski, R. and Mohs, K. 1974. The effects of father presence and absence upon maternal attitudes. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 125: 257 - 263.
- Mayekiso, T. 1982. Psychological Evaluation of Human Figure Drawings of a Sample of Std V Black School Children. Unpublished M.A. Dissertation, Alice: University of Fort Hare.
- McCarty, S. 1924. *Children's Drawings*. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins.
- Mc Elwee, E. 1934. Profile drawing of normal and sub-normal children. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, vol. 18: 599 - 603.
- Medinnus, G. 1967. *Readings in the psychology of parent-child relations*. New York: John Wiley.
- Meili-Dworetzki, G. 1957. *Das Bild des Menschen in der Vorstellung und Darstellung des Kleinkindes*. Bern: Hans Huber.
- Mühle, G. 1967. *Entwicklungspsychologie des Zeichnerischen Gestaltens*. München: Barth.
- Naumburg, M. 1947. *Studies of the "free" art expression of behavior problem children and adolescents as a means of diagnosis and therapy*. *Nervous and Mental Disorders Monographs*, No. 71. New York: Coolidge Foundation.

Oldham, H. 1940. Child Expression in Colour and Form.
London. Unwin Brothers Ltd.

Orbon, H. 1980. Die Lage der Schwarzen in Südafrika/
Azania. Berlin: Oberbaum Verlag.

Owen, M. 1955. Perception of simultaneous tactile
stimuli in emotionally disturbed children and
its relation to their body image concept. Jour-
nal of Nervous and Mental Disorders, vol. 121:
397 - 409.

Piaget, J. 1951. Dreams and Imitation. New York: Nor-
ton.

Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. 1956. The child's concep-
tion of space. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. 1969. The Psychology of
the child. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. 1971. Mental Imagery in
the Child. New York: Basic Books.

Precker, J. 1950. Painting and drawing in personality
assessment. Journal of Projective Techniques,
vol. 14: 262 - 286.

Price, R. 1980. Apartheid and White supremacy. The
meaning of Government Led Reform in the South
African context. In Price, R. and Rosberg, C.
eds., The Apartheid Regime: Political Power and
Racial Domination. Berkeley: University of Cali-
fornia.

Rand Daily Mail. 30. August 1984. Transkei. Johannesburg.

Raum, O. 1965. Wandel in Kultur und Sozialstruktur der südafrikanischen Xhosa. Sociologus, vol. 15: 111 - 127.

Read, H. 1945. Education through art. 2nd ed. New York: Patheon Books.

Reiznikoff, N. and Reiznikoff, H. 1956. The family drawing Test: A comparative study of children's drawings. Journal of Clinical Psychology, vol. 12: 167 - 169.

Roberts, A. 1974. Childhood Deprivation. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

Rouma, G. 1913. Le langage graphique de l'enfant. Bruxelles: Misch et Thron.

Schilder, P. and Levine, E. 1942. Abstract art as an expression of human problems. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders, vol. 94: 1 - 10.

Schmidle, W. 1942. Formal criteria for the analysis of children's drawings. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 12: 95 - 104.

Sears, R. and Maccoby, E. 1957. Patterns of child rearing. Evanston: Row Peterson.

Sears, R., Rav, L. and Alpert, R. 1966. Identification and Child Rearing. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Selfe, L. 1983. Normal and anomalous representational drawing ability in children. London: Academic Press.
- Sigel, I., McGullicuddy-Delise, A. and Johnson, J. 1980. Parental distancing, beliefs and children's representational competence within the family context. Princeton: Educational Testing Service.
- Sigg-Boeddinghaus, M. 1929. Zeichnen und Malen und ihre Bedeutung für die seelische Entwicklung des Kindes. Psychologische Rundschau, vol. 1: 222 - 229, 324 - 330.
- Smith, N. and Franklin, M. 1979. Symbolic functioning in childhood. Hillsdale: Erlbaum Press.
- Soga, J. 1930. The Ama-Xhosa: Life and customs. Alice: Lovedale Mission Press.
- Southall, R. 1983. South Africa's Transkei: The Political economy of an "independent" Bantustan. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Stone, P. and Ansbacher, H. 1965. Social interest and performance on the Goodenough - Harris Draw-A-Man Test. Journal of Individual Psychology, vol. 21: 178 - 186.
- Sully, J. 1903. Studies of childhood. New York: D. Appleton.

- Swensen, E. 1968. Empirical Evaluation of Human Figure Drawings. *Psychology Bulletin*, vol. 70, No. 1: 20 - 44.
- Tatz, C. 1962. Shadow and subsistence in South Africa. A study in land and franchise Policies affecting Africans 1910 - 1960. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Traube, T. 1937. La valeur Diagnostique des Dessins des Enfants Difficiles. *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. 26: 285 - 309.
- Waehner, T. 1942. Formal criteria for the analysis of children's drawings. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 12: 95 - 103.
- Waehner, T. 1946. Interpretation of spontaneous drawings and paintings. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, vol. 33: 3 - 70.
- Wakelin, P. 1983. Migrant labour in Transkei 1982. Umtata: Institute for Management and Development Studies, Statistical Series, University of Transkei.
- Werner, H. and Kaplan, B. 1967. Symbol formation, New York: Wiley.
- Whiting, B. and Child, I. 1953. Child Training and Personality. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Whiting, B. 1963. Six cultures. New York: Wiley.

Whiting, B. and Whiting, J. 1975. Children in six cultures. A psycho-cultural analysis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wilson, F. 1971. Farming, 1866 - 1966. In Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. eds., The Oxford History of South Africa, vol. II, South Africa 1870 - 1966. Oxford: Clarendon.

Wilson, F. 1972. Migrant Labour in South Africa. Report to the South African Council of Churches. Johannesburg: South African Council of Churches and Sprocas.

Wilson, M. 1959. The early history of the Transkei and Ciskei. African Studies, vol. 18, No. 4: 167 - 178.

Wolff, W. 1947. The Personality of the Preschool Child. New York: Grune and Stratton.

Zesbaugh, H. 1934. Children's drawings of the human figure. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

LEBENS LAUF

2.3.1956	Geboren in Lusikisiki (Südafrika)
1960 bis 1967	Besuch der Clarkebury Grundschule in Engcobo (Südafrika) mit dem Abschluß: Primary School Certificate
1968 bis 1970	Besuch der Clarkebury Sekundarschule in Engcobo mit dem Abschluß: Junior School Certificate
1971 bis 1972	Besuch des Mfundisweni Gymnasiums in Flagstaff (Südafrika) mit dem Abschluß: Senior School Certificate (Matric)
1973 bis 1975	Studium an der Universität Fort Hare in Südafrika mit dem Abschluß: Bachelor of Arts (BA)
1976 bis 1977	Studium an der Universität Fort Hare mit dem Abschluß: Honours degree in Psychology (BA Hons.)
1978	Immatrikulation an der Universität Fort Hare für das Studium "Master of Arts" in Psychologie
1978 bis 1979	Wissenschaftliche Assistentin im Fachbereich Psychologie an der Universität Fort Hare
Okt. 1979 bis April 1980	Besuch des Goethe Instituts (Sprachkurs) in Freiburg mit dem Abschluß: Deutsch Mittelstufe I
WS 1980/81 und SS 1981	Teilnahme an der Fortbildung zum Fachpsychotherapeuten am Institut für Psychotherapie E.V. Berlin
SS 1981	Besuch des Kurses: Deutsch als Fremdsprache III B an der Freien Universität Berlin

1982

Erfolgreicher Abschluß des "Master
of Arts" in Psychologie an der
Universität Fort Hare

1983

Aufnahme des Promotionsstudiums
am Fachbereich Philosophie und
Sozialwissenschaften I an der
Freien Universität Berlin

